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THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS



THE PROBLEM OF
IMMIGRATION
IN MASSACHUSETTS

GOVERNMENT DOCUMENT
COLLECTION

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REPORT OF THE
COMMISSION ON IMMIGRATION
1914





Construction camp shanty near Boston. (See pages 69 and following.)

REPORT
OF THE
COMMISSION ON IMMIGRATION
ON
THE PROBLEM OF IMMIGRATION
IN MASSACHUSETTS.

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1914.

MASSACHUSETTS COMMISSION ON IMMIGRATION.

BERNARD J. ROTHWELL, *Chairman*, BOSTON.
EMILY G. BALCH, BOSTON.
FREDERIC C. McDUFFIE, LAWRENCE.
WILLIAM H. O'BRIEN, BOSTON.
FRANK E. SPAULDING, NEWTON.

GRACE ABBOTT, *Executive Secretary*.
GRACE PELOUBET NORTON, *Statistician*.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

MASSACHUSETTS ACTS AND RESOLVES, 1913, CHAPTER 77.

RESOLVE TO PROVIDE FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF A COMMISSION ON IMMIGRATION.

Resolved, That the governor, with the advice and consent of the council shall, within thirty days after the passage of this resolve, appoint five persons, citizens of the commonwealth, one of whom shall be designated as chairman, who shall constitute a commission on immigration. Said commission shall make a full investigation of the status and general condition of immigrants within the commonwealth, including their way of living, distribution, occupation, educational opportunities and business opportunities and facilities, and also their relation to the industrial, social and economic condition of all the people of the commonwealth. The commission is further authorized to procure information regarding such laws or agencies of the federal government and of other state governments as affect immigrants after their admission to the United States. The investigations of the commission shall be made with a view to obtaining information for the enactment of such laws as will bring non-English speaking foreigners, resident or transient, into sympathetic relation with American institutions and customs. The commission shall be provided with suitable quarters in the state house or elsewhere, and is hereby authorized to require the attendance of persons and the production of papers respecting all matters pertaining to the subject of their inquiry. The members of the commission shall serve without compensation, but the commission may employ all necessary clerical or other assistance, and may incur such other reasonable expenses, in the performance of its duties, including travelling expenses, as may be approved by the governor and council. The total expense to be incurred under this resolve shall not exceed the sum of fifteen thousand dollars. The commission shall report its findings, together with any recommendations based thereon, in print to the general court, on or before the second Wednesday of January in the year nineteen hundred and fourteen. [*Approved May 2, 1913.*]

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The Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

To the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The Commission on Immigration, appointed in pursuance of chapter 77, Acts and Resolves of 1913, held its first meeting on June 6, 1913, immediately following its appointment. Since then the commission has held 40 meetings; it has also held 13 public hearings in the following cities and towns: Worcester, September 19 and 20; Fall River, September 26; New Bedford, September 27; Holyoke, October 3; Springfield, October 4; Lowell, October 10; North Adams, October 17; Lynn, October 24; Maynard, October 31; and Boston, November 7, 10 and 14. The commission has also conferred with the officers or members of State and local boards of health, the Board of Labor and Industries, the Bureau of Statistics, with police officials, clergymen, educators, social workers and with representatives of the various immigrant groups. It has made personal inspections of foreign neighborhoods, and has employed agents to make the investigations described in the report and the Appendix thereto.

The commission appointed as its executive secretary Miss Grace Abbott of Chicago, Director of the Immigrants' Protective League of that city, and it desires to express herein its appreciation of the comprehensive grasp, sympathetic understanding, energetic zeal, and loyal co-operation with which she has fulfilled her arduous duties.

The sum of \$15,000 was appropriated for the work of the commission; after the payment of some few outstanding bills there will remain an unexpended balance of approximately \$2,500.

The problem of immigration presents two fundamental considerations — the welfare of the State and the welfare of the immigrant. While that of the State is unquestionably para-

mount, the welfare and destiny of both are linked inseparably. Throughout its investigations and its report the attention of this commission has necessarily been focused on the immigrant, but the nature of its investigations as well as its recommendations have been determined primarily by the interests of the State.

The State being made up of individual units, it is the moral, intellectual and physical stamina of these units that determine its character and stability. Therefore the healthful development of these units is of supreme importance to the preservation of the Commonwealth. The State must, at whatever cost, prevent the lowering of its moral, mental and physical standards, — the inevitable result of overwork, underpay, unregulated housing in overcrowded tenements. By provision and enforcement of an adequate plan of education it must dispel the ignorance which begets prejudice, makes the uninformed the victims of reckless agitation, and substitutes violence for constitutional methods of securing redress. If the State is unwilling to meet the cost of thus safeguarding its own interests by promoting the welfare of its immigrant population, then it is not difficult to forecast the overthrow of those democratic institutions which are the result of patient, persistent struggle, century after century, by countless thousands, who have devoted life and fortune to the achievement of liberty under the law.

A summary of the recommendations of the commission, based upon its hearings, conferences and investigations, together with its report and an Appendix to the same, are herewith respectfully submitted.

BERNARD J. ROTHWELL, *Chairman.*
EMILY G. BALCH.
FREDERIC C. McDUFFIE.
WILLIAM H. O'BRIEN.
FRANK E. SPAULDING.

BOSTON, March 21, 1914.

SUMMARY OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION.

EDUCATION (pp. 114-152).

I. *Education of Immigrant Children under Fourteen Years of Age* (pp. 115-117).

The commission recommends that a more careful adaptation of the methods of teaching and of the course of study be made by the public schools, in order that the immigrant child shall not, through his Americanization, lose respect for his parents and for the traditions which they revere.

II. *Education of Immigrants over Fourteen Years of Age at the Time of their Arrival* (pp. 117-146).

The commission recommends: —

1. The establishment of compulsory half-day schools for illiterates, between fourteen and seventeen years of age, in all cities and towns in which there are as many as twenty such persons (pp. 126-128; Bill, pp. 217-223).
2. The maintenance of evening schools, which illiterate minors between seventeen and twenty-one years of age shall be compelled to attend, in all cities and towns in which there are as many as fifteen such persons (pp. 117-146; Bill, pp. 217-223).
3. That the evening schools shall be maintained at least forty weeks each year (pp. 133-135).
4. For the better enforcement of the laws requiring the attendance of illiterate minors at evening school: —
 - (a) That the annual school census shall include all persons between the ages of five and twenty-one (pp. 122, 124; Bill, p. 225).
 - (b) That the State Board of Education shall secure from the United States Bureau of Immigration the names and addresses of all immigrants between five and twenty-one years of age destined

to Massachusetts, and that these be distributed to the local attendance officers concerned (p. 124).

- (c) That the State Board of Education shall exercise such supervision over the enforcement of the compulsory attendance law as will best secure its efficient operation (p. 124).
- 5. For the education of the adult immigrant through the public schools: —
 - (a) That special classes in English, adapted to their needs, age and previous education, shall be provided for both men and women (pp. 128, 129).
 - (b) That lectures in the various foreign languages shall be given so as to inform the immigrant about labor laws, sanitary regulations, and other things he needs to know immediately upon his arrival (p. 135).
- 6. That special evening classes for immigrants in labor camps be conducted by the State Board of Education (pp. 129, 130; Bill, pp. 217-223).
- 7. That normal schools shall maintain, when practicable, model evening schools for immigrants, so that experiments may be conducted, by educational experts, in the neglected field of adult education (pp. 130-132).
- 8. That the State Board of Education shall appoint a deputy commissioner of education, and such agents as may be necessary, to supervise and direct these evening and part-time classes for immigrants (pp. 145, 146, 220 (sec. 12); Bill, pp. 217-223).
- 9. That the State shall pay to cities and towns a portion of the total amount expended for teaching in such evening and part-time schools upon their approval by the State Board of Education. The basis on which such reimbursement shall be made shall be as follows: —

When the amount expended for the support of the public schools is: —



A class of Syrian girls, in an overcrowded school, is compelled to meet in the kindergarten room.

- (a) Less than \$4 for every \$1,000 of its valuation the reimbursement shall be four-tenths of the cost of teaching.
- (b) \$4 to \$4.49, the reimbursement shall be five-tenths of the cost of teaching.
- (c) \$4.50 to \$4.99, the reimbursement shall be six-tenths of the cost of teaching.
- (d) \$5 and over, the reimbursement shall be seven-tenths of the cost of teaching.

III. *Neighborhood Centers* (pp. 140 ff).

The commission recommends that the public schools in foreign districts shall maintain neighborhood centers, to offer to immigrant and other children a wholesome substitute for dangerous commercialized recreation, and to the older immigrants recreation and fellowship, as well as assistance in considering, in the light of their own experience, our international, national and municipal problems (pp. 146, 147).

IV. *Private Schools*.

Inasmuch as local school committees have failed to carry out the provisions of the present law regarding the approval of private schools, the commission recommends that the responsibility for such approval be vested in the State Board of Education (pp. 147-151; Bill, pp. 223-225).

V. *Public Libraries*.

A larger appropriation for the Free Public Library Commission is recommended in order that it may extend the travelling foreign-library feature of its work (pp. 151, 152).

NATURALIZATION (pp. 153-161).

The commission recommends:—

1. That literacy as defined in the Massachusetts Statutes shall be the minimum educational qualification for the exercise of suffrage in this State.
2. That an investigation be made by the proposed Board of Immigration or otherwise, as to whether the reduction in the number of courts

of naturalization in this State causes needless hardship to immigrants (p. 161, also pp. 154, 155).

3. That the experiment of holding Saturday afternoon and night sessions of the courts of naturalization shall be extended (p. 161, also pp. 154, 155).
4. That public evening schools throughout the State shall give special training for naturalization (pp. 157-161).
5. That certificates of naturalization shall be presented formally and with a ceremony calculated to impress both the immigrant and the American with the dignity and importance of citizenship (pp. 147, 160, 161).

DISTRIBUTION (pp. 37-53).

To reduce the evils of unemployment due to the unintelligent distribution of all laborers, but especially of the peculiarly helpless non-English speaking immigrants, and to protect them from fraud and misrepresentation, the commission recommends: —

1. That a Bureau of Employment shall be organized under the Board of Labor and Industries, and that the supervision of the present State free employment offices shall be transferred to this Bureau (pp. 47-53; Bill, pp. 226, 227).
2. That the present private employment agency law shall be amended along the lines suggested in the body of this report (pp. 38-47).

The commission further expresses its approval of the recommendations of the United States Secretary of Labor in his annual report (1914) to Congress to the effect: —

1. That the present Division of Information in the United States Bureau of Immigration shall be developed into a national labor exchange (pp. 52, 53).
2. That private employment agencies engaged in an interstate business shall be licensed and supervised by the United States (pp. 46, 47, 53).

AGRICULTURAL OPPORTUNITIES (pp. 90-97).

In order that those immigrants, many of them farmers or farm laborers in Europe, who desire to become farmers in America may be helped to accomplish this purpose, the commission makes the following recommendations: —

1. That the State free employment agencies shall give more attention to the problem of bringing together the man who wants to work on a farm and the farmer who needs his help (p. 92.)
2. That a scientific "exploration" of its farm lands shall be made by the Commonwealth in order that reliable information may be available for prospective purchasers, whether native or foreign born (p. 96).
3. That a specially qualified person be employed in the proposed State Board of Immigration to advise and assist the immigrant who desires to purchase farm land (pp. 97, 215).

THE IMPROVEMENT OF HOUSING CONDITIONS OF THE IMMIGRANT.
(pp. 54-75).

1. The commission recommends that the standard housing laws recommended to cities and towns by the State Legislatures of 1911 and 1912 shall be made compulsory, and that a permanent State Housing Commissioner shall supervise the enforcement of these laws (p. 57).
2. Inasmuch as the lodging of young immigrant girls and single immigrant men within the same household constitutes a serious moral menace, and as the present conditions under which "non-family groups" of men are now living are even more dangerous, the commission regrets that no constructive program has ever been presented for the housing of such young people. While municipally provided lodging houses seem to be the ultimate solution of these difficulties, practical philanthropists might meanwhile render a great service by assisting in the determination of the best type of lodging

houses and the arrangements that can most successfully be made for different national groups (pp. 58-69).

3. The commission recommends that the sanitary arrangements in temporary camps where construction workers and other seasonal laborers are housed shall be approved by the State Board of Health before such camps can be occupied, and that frequent inspections thereafter shall be made, so long as they are in use (pp. 69-75).

REGULATION OF THE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE (pp. 192-196).

1. Inasmuch as the immigrant has no sources of information which enable him to distinguish the trained from the untrained and often unscrupulous practitioners, and therefore suffers even more than the native American at their hands, the commission recommends that the requirements for medical registration in Massachusetts shall be raised.
2. It further recommends that the State Board of Medical Registration shall work out some plan by which the large and rapidly increasing number of women who use midwives may be protected against those absolutely untrained and irresponsible ones whose practice, although contrary to law, is generally tolerated in the cities and towns of the State (pp. 193-196).

PREVENTION OF CRIME AMONG IMMIGRANTS (pp. 103-107).

1. The commission recommends to police authorities and private agencies interested in the prevention of crime that adequate consideration be given the various social and psychological characteristics of the different national groups (pp. 104 ff).
2. For the prevention of crimes of violence which are more frequent among the foreign than among the native-born, the commission urgently recommends that the sale of firearms and other dangerous weapons shall be regulated stringently (p. 106).

3. Inasmuch as ignorance of sanitary regulations is responsible for many of the offenses of immigrants, the commission recommends that the State Board of Health shall prepare and furnish to local boards of health leaflets and illustrated lectures in the various foreign languages for the education of non-English speaking people (p. 105).

OFFICIAL COURT INTERPRETERS.

Inasmuch as in all cases in which a non-English speaking immigrant is concerned the honesty, competency and disinterestedness of the interpreter is absolutely essential to the administration of justice, this commission recommends that those courts in which such interpreters are needed shall be authorized to appoint official interpreters on yearly salaries, and that the Civil Service Commission shall be directed to prepare eligible lists from which such appointments may be made (pp. 107-111; Bill, p. 225).

PUBLIC DEFENDERS.

In order that the immigrant, whose ignorance of English places him so peculiarly at the mercy of shyster lawyers, may be insured the fair trial which our law intends, it is recommended that the State shall provide attorneys for the defence or "public defenders" (pp. 111, 112; Bill, p. 228).

PROTECTION OF IMMIGRANT SAVINGS.

To provide greater security for the savings which are deposited with so-called "immigrant bankers" for safe-keeping or for transmission abroad, the commission recommends the following modifications of the present law which regulates persons or corporations who combine with a banking business the selling of steamship tickets or the supplying of laborers: —

1. That all those who do a foreign exchange business or who receive money for safe-keeping shall, with certain exceptions such as legally incorporated

- banks, trust companies, etc., be included in the law.
2. That the investment of deposits shall be regulated.
 3. That the minimum penalty of the bond required shall be \$10,000.
 4. That the Commissioner of Banking, as well as the local police authorities, shall be charged with the enforcement of the law, and the commissioner or his deputy shall also be given authority to examine the books of all unlicensed steamship agents or others suspected of its violation.
 5. That the Commissioner of Banking shall be given the right to ask for an injunction and for the appointment of a receiver for any unlicensed agency found to be doing a banking business.
 6. That money accepted for transmission shall be forwarded within five days after it is received.
 7. That in case of action for failure to forward money left for transmission, the burden of proof that the money was sent should rest on the licensee (pp. 174-233 ; Bills, pp. 228-233).

NOTARIES PUBLIC.

The commission recommends that the Civil Service Commission be authorized to prepare, upon request by the Governor, an eligible list from which the Governor may appoint notaries public (pp. 189-191).

A STATE BOARD OF IMMIGRATION.

The commission is directed, by the resolution creating it, to recommend such laws as its investigations indicate are needed to bring the immigrant "into sympathetic relations with American institutions and customs." The foregoing recommendations have been made in the belief that education, protection against exploitation, provision for better living and working conditions, and the adjustment of our legal machinery so that the immigrant may enjoy, with the Ameri-

can, the equal protection of the law, are necessary for the accomplishment of this end. The commission has endeavored to assign to existing boards or departments those services which it believes that the Commonwealth, for its own future welfare, must undertake to perform for the immigrant. But, in addition, it finds that there still remain other most important services that cannot properly be provided for through existing boards or departments. These, it recommends, shall be undertaken by a permanent State Board of Immigration of five unpaid members, appointed by the Governor, and that among its duties shall be the following:—

1. The maintenance of a central office, and such branch offices as the population of the State may necessitate, to which immigrants shall be encouraged to go for disinterested advice and information.
2. Special oversight over the conditions surrounding the arrival and release of immigrants and their journey from the port of arrival to their destination.
3. The establishment of a clearing house of information useful to the immigrant, so that the civic, social and philanthropic resources of the community may be made available to him.
4. The investigation of complaints of exploitation with a view to their adjustment, and the recommendation of measures by which those frauds of which the immigrant is peculiarly a victim may be prevented.
5. The accumulation of information in regard to the immigrant population of Massachusetts, so that expert advice may be at the disposal of interested public and private agencies.
6. The provision of a special agent competent to give trustworthy advice to those desiring to settle on farms.

7. The reference, with suggestions, to the proper State agencies, of all matters coming within the scope of the particular agency to which assignment is made, and co-operation with such agency in the solution of the problem involved (pp. 211-216; Bill, p. 233).

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION TO MASSACHUSETTS.

During the Colonial Period.

During the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth century, when the Dutch, Scandinavians, Swiss, Germans and French were settling in the central and southern colonies, Massachusetts was struggling by means of legislation to maintain its Puritan Commonwealth. If this was to be done, every stranger must be regarded with suspicion and distrust. So we find the General Court in 1637 ordering that no town or person in the colony should receive or entertain any newcomer for longer than three weeks without permission of the authorities.¹ The severe laws passed after 1656 were designed to prevent, by whippings, imprisonment, banishment and even hanging, the coming of the Quakers. These laws and the laws against the French Jesuits undoubtedly kept out not only many Quakers, but other Protestants from Great Britain and Western Europe, and Catholic laymen from Ireland and the Continent. Liberalism did grow, however, although slowly, and in 1682 the General Court granted land and special privileges to a small colony of French Huguenot refugees, and in 1730, because of their good behavior, an act was passed naturalizing these French Protestants.

In 1754, when Massachusetts had begun to look with some jealousy at the growth and prosperity of Pennsylvania, Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, in his election sermon before the Governor and Legislature of Massachusetts, urged that the English element being now well established in Massachusetts, the immigration of foreign Protestants might be encouraged.²

¹ *Records of Massachusetts Bay Colony*, Vol. I, p. 196, quoted in Proper, E. E., "Colonial Immigration Laws," *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 23.

² *Massachusetts Election Sermons*, 1754, pp. 30, 43, referred to in Fairchild, H. P., *Immigration*, p. 46.

During even this early period there was much fear of the immigration of paupers; and in 1700, after the union of the two Massachusetts colonies, a comprehensive law designed to protect the towns from the care of the indigent was passed. This provided that "no lame, impotent or infirm persons" should be admitted unless the town was given security that they would not become public charges. If unable to furnish such security they were to be deported in the vessel in which they came.¹ This law was felt to be a little too stringent and was modified in 1722,² and finally in 1756 the sick, impotent and lame were prohibited from landing unless permitted by the selectmen of the town on security from the master of the vessel.³

However, as Proper points out, these laws "were perhaps less effective as barriers to foreign immigration than the rigor and harshness of Puritan legislation along other lines. Puritanism in New England was too austere, too painfully conscientious and moral to attract many settlers; while her sumptuary laws and barbarous punishments were repellent even to the persecuted peasant of Continental Europe."⁴

Since Independence.

Whether or not it was the scanty soil and rigorous climate or the intolerance of the Puritan that sent the stream of immigrants of the eighteenth century to Pennsylvania and to the southern States, Massachusetts, at any rate, began her history as a State with much less racial mixture than most of the other States.

By 1790 the nationality, or racial stock, of the white population as indicated by the name of the head of the family was as follows: ⁵ —

¹ *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay*, I, 452, quoted in Proper, p. 29.

² *Idem*, II, 244, Proper, p. 30.

³ *Idem*, III, 982, Proper, p. 30.

⁴ Proper, p. 37.

⁵ *A Century of Population Growth, 1790-1900*, U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1909, p. 116 Table 45.

TABLE 1. — *Nationality of White Population of Massachusetts in 1790.*

NATIONALITY.	Number.	Per Cent.
English,	354,528	95.0
Scotch,	13,435	3.6
Irish,	3,732	1.0
French,	746	.2
Dutch,	373	.1
German,	75	—1
Jewish,	67	—1
All others,	231	.1
Total,	373,187	100.0

As a result of the growing spirit of liberalism and the economic and political pressure in Europe, immigration to Massachusetts increased greatly during the first half of the nineteenth century. The nativity of the population was not reported in the United States Census until 1850. During the fifteen years preceding that date immigration had provoked much bitter discussion which led to some political success for the Native American and Know Nothing movement in Massachusetts.

State Regulation of the Admission of Immigrants.

In so far as the anti-immigration movement did not have its origin in the narrowest religious and race prejudice, it was caused by the belief that “undesirables” were coming to the United States in large numbers. There were no federal restrictions on the admission of immigrants at that time, and evidence was not lacking in support of the belief that England especially, and other Western European States, were paying the passage of their pauper, insane and criminal classes to the United States. In 1837 the old colonial legislation was replaced by a law requiring the steamship companies to furnish bonds in the sum of \$1,000 for every insane, feeble-minded, aged or infirm person admitted, conditional that such person should not become a public charge within ten years. A \$2 head tax to be used for the support of foreign paupers was also imposed.²

¹ Less than one-tenth of one per cent.
² *State Laws of Massachusetts*, 1837, ch. 233, p. 270.

This act and a similar one passed in New York were declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court in 1849,¹ on the ground that the head tax constituted a regulation of foreign commerce. The Massachusetts law had been changed before this decision was rendered and was amended several times subsequent to it. The head tax was dropped, the administrative machinery strengthened, and the deaf and dumb, the blind and deformed were added to the lists of those who were admitted only on bond.² But the legislation failed to accomplish its purpose. Boston, ranking fifth in the number of arrivals in 1820 and third in 1860,³ was not the important port that it now is.⁴ As a result, in those days even more than at present, immigration to Massachusetts did not all come by way of Boston and New Bedford. Massachusetts itself, and other States that had passed similar legislation, showed little concern about the insane and the paupers so long as they were destined to cities and towns outside their own borders. Therefore protection against these classes was entirely inadequate until in 1882 the control of the admission or exclusion of immigrants, and in 1891 the administrative enforcement of that control, were taken over by the federal government.⁵

Changed Character of the Immigration.

Long before this regulation of immigration was undertaken by the federal government the immigration to Massachusetts had undergone great changes in numbers and in nationality. By 1850, the first year for which these figures are available, 16.5 per cent of the State's population was foreign-born, while only 9.7 per cent of the entire population of the United States was foreign-born. Since 1850 this per cent has steadily increased, as the following table shows:—

¹ 7 Howard, 283.

² State legislation on the subject of immigration is collected in the *Reports of the U. S. Immigration Commission*, Vol. 39, pp. 487-956; *Massachusetts Legislation*, pp. 691-707.

³ *U. S. Eighth Census* (1860), *Population*, p. xxiii.

⁴ See Appendix C for number of arrivals at the port of Boston from 1856 to 1913.

⁵ For a history of federal immigration legislation, see *Reports of the U. S. Immigration Commission*, Vol. 39, pp. 1-144.

TABLE 2. — *Per Cent of Foreign-born in Total Population of Massachusetts and of the United States, 1850 to 1910.*¹

	Massachusetts.	United States.
1850,	16.5	9.7
1860,	21.1	13.2
1870,	24.2	14.4
1880,	24.9	13.3
1890,	29.4	14.8
1900,	30.2	13.7
1910,	31.5	14.7

The changes in the constituent elements of its foreign-born population have been even more marked. These changes are shown in the following table, which gives the nativity of the foreign-born population of Massachusetts by decades since 1850.

TABLE 3. — *Foreign-born Population of Massachusetts by Country of Birth 1850 to 1910.*²

	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.	1910.
Ireland,	115,917	185,434	216,120	226,700	259,902	249,916	222,867
England,	16,635	23,848	34,099	47,263	76,400	82,346	92,658
Scotland,	4,469	6,855	9,003	12,507	21,909	24,332	28,416
Wales,	214	320	576	873	1,527	1,680	1,513
Canada, ³	15,862	27,069	70,055	119,302	111,315	158,753	162,710
Canada French,	—	—	—	—	96,286	134,416	134,659
Atlantic Islands,	—	433	1,944	2,421	4,973	4,432	11,128
Austria, ⁴	10	—	365	587	1,729	12,931	35,455
Finland,	—	—	—	—	—	5,104	10,744
France,	805	1,280	1,629	2,212	3,273	3,905	5,926
Germany,	4,417	9,961	13,072	16,872	28,034	32,927	30,555
Greece,	23	25	24	41	59	1,843	11,413
Holland,	138	351	480	586	609	993	1,597
Hungary,	—	—	14	82	389	926	1,996
Italy,	196	371	454	2,116	8,066	28,785	85,056
Poland, ⁵	—	81	272	681	3,341	849	—
Portugal,	290	988	735	1,161	3,051	13,453	26,437
Russia,	33	61	154	462	7,325	37,919	117,261
Sweden, Norway and Denmark,	503	1,069	1,955	5,971	22,655	37,997	48,399
Turkey,	14	16	50	102	310	2,896	16,138
Others,	1,328	1,952	2,313	3,552	5,984	9,921	14,317
Total,	160,909	260,114	353,319	443,491	657,137	846,324	1,059,245

¹ Compiled from the *U. S. Census* 1850 to 1910.² *Ibid.*³ Canada French, not distinguished from Canada English until 1890.⁴ White population only.⁵ Includes Bohemia.⁶ Distributed under Austria, Germany and Russia in 1910, and so far as possible in 1900.

According to this table the English-speaking group now forms a smaller proportion of the foreign-born population of the State, and in the case of the Irish, the most important numerically, there has been an actual numerical decrease since 1890. The numbers of the Germans and of the Welsh have also decreased since 1900. There was a great increase in the Scandinavian population between 1870 and 1890, but since that time the increase has been less marked.

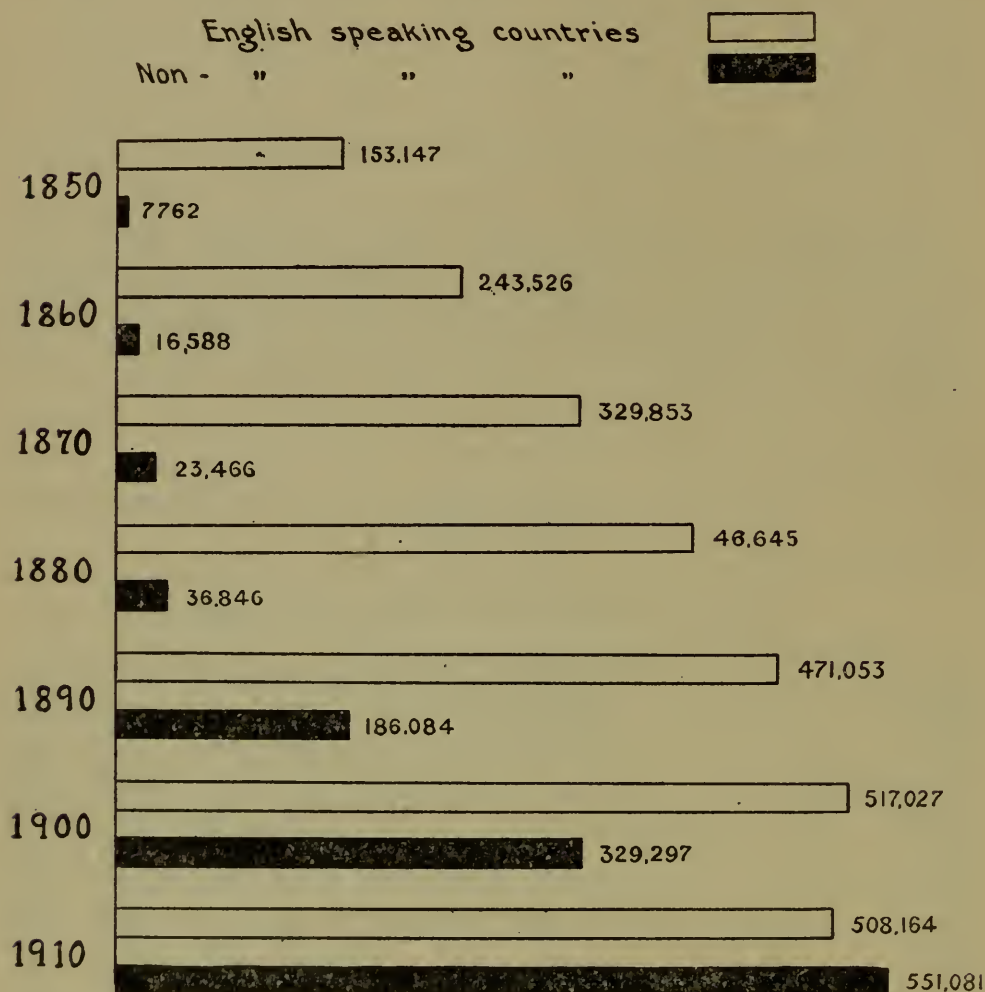


DIAGRAM 1. — Foreign-born population of Massachusetts from English-speaking and from non-English speaking countries.

But the striking change has been the increase in those who come from Southern and Eastern Europe. In 1850 there were only 38 people in the State who were born in Russia; in 1910 there were 117,261; in 1850 there were 196 from Italy, in 1910, 85,056; in 1850, 10 came from Austria, in 1910, 35,455. The

preceding diagram shows the relative number of the foreign-born population of Massachusetts who came from English-speaking countries and those who came from non-English speaking countries from 1850 to 1910.

In sixty years, then, the immigration of the non-English speaking races of Southern and Eastern Europe has increased from absolute insignificance to the important place that it now occupies. The countries from which these non-English speaking elements come are shown by the following diagram.



DIAGRAM 2. — Foreign-born population of Massachusetts from non-English speaking countries by country of birth, 1910.

The Causes of Immigration.

Although much has been said about the changed causes of the present immigration to the United States, the causes that sent immigrants fifty or two hundred years ago are also responsible for their coming to-day. The economic injustices of a dominant race are, according to Professor Commons, driving to emigration the Slav in Austria-Hungary, the Jew, the Finn, the German in Russia, the Armenian and the Syrian in Turkey.¹ Most of us would add to this list the Lithuanian of Russia, and would agree that in the case of the Jews in both

¹ Commons, J. R., *Races and Immigrants in America*, p. 65.

Roumania and Russia, and of the Syrians and Armenians in Turkey, it is religious persecution manifesting itself in other than "economic injustices" which sends them to America. Political and racial antipathy still exiles the Pole, the Ruthenian and the Slovak from Russia, Austria and Hungary, and is likely to send many from the Balkan States during the next few years. The South Italian suffers from a landlord system not unlike the one from which the Irish escaped to America. The English and the Canadian immigrants who came to work in the mills in such large numbers during the nineteenth century; the Germans who came after the severe winter and the spring floods in 1845; the Scandinavians who had "no chance" because with the small amount of available land and with the lack of diversified industries, few opportunities were offered an expanding population,—all these came to the United States from the same economic motives that have sent the peasants of Italy, Austria-Hungary, Greece and Russia in recent years. Austria-Hungary, like Germany in the seventies, was much disturbed during the autumn of 1913 by the emigration of so many men whose military service was not completed.

The fact that these same economic and political reasons that brought the earlier immigrants are still operative is shown by the personal histories obtained from immigrants in the course of the investigations carried on by the commission.¹ The following table, giving the immigrants' statements of their reasons for coming to this country, shows that 67 per cent of them came in the hope of finding better industrial conditions, and 11 per cent to escape from political oppression or to avoid military service.

TABLE 4. — *Reasons given by 1,217 Immigrants for coming to this Country.*

	Number of Immigrants.	Per Cent.
To find better industrial conditions,	819	67.4
To be with relatives or friends,	175	14.4
To escape military service,	85	7.0
To avoid political oppression,	54	4.4
To see the country,	71	5.8
Miscellaneous reasons,	13	1.0
Total,	1,217 ²	100.0

¹ See Appendix A.

² Seven immigrants from whom schedules were obtained did not give their reasons for coming to this country.

Unchecked by legislation in this country or in Europe, steamship companies formerly urged the relatives who were already here to send for those at home, and lured peasants into undertaking the journey. To-day this is illegal, and, although the law is difficult of enforcement, there are occasional arrests and convictions.

Contract labor was also on an absolutely different basis during this earlier period. Not only was the bringing of laborers into the United States under contract not prohibited, but for several years after the civil war contracts made in Europe in which the immigrant pledged his wages for twelve months to repay the expenses of his passage to employers, padrones and steamship agencies were enforceable in the courts.¹

The settlement of any race in a particular locality is largely accidental. For example, the Portuguese first came to New Bedford in their own sailing vessels. As they returned to that port year after year a permanent colony was gradually formed, until, to-day, most of the Portuguese and the Bravas, or "Black Portuguese," from the Cape Verde Islands, who are coming to the United States, are destined for New Bedford, Fall River or some of the smaller towns on the Cape.

The demand on the part of the textile mills, the shoe factories, the construction companies and other industries of the State for unskilled labor has brought to Massachusetts people who were influenced by many different motives to leave their old homes.

The greater importance of the port of Boston is increasing the number of those who may be said to drift into the country and who, as they are without friends or relatives and have little knowledge of the country, settle where they land.

The Change in the Immigrant Problem.

The immigration of the present day presents a far more complex problem than did the immigration of the period of 1840 to 1890.

A striking evidence of this is afforded by consideration not only of the vastly greater number of annual arrivals, but, even more

¹ *13th U. S. Statutes at Large* (1864), p. 385. Not until 1885 was the prepayment of transportation, the assistance or the encouragement of foreigners to immigrate under contract prohibited by the United States.

forcibly, by that of the greatly increased number of nationalities and of languages included in the immigration of to-day.

During the earlier period the larger proportion of the arrivals spoke English, and most of the remainder one of four or five other tongues.

Last year over 100,000 immigrants arrived in Massachusetts. During the past ten years the yearly average has been 73,383,¹ and, to-day, a single Massachusetts town of less than 7,000 population includes representatives of at least 21 different nationalities speaking as many different languages.

Every aspect of community life — in village, town or city — is therefore more vitally affected, and resources of every nature are far more seriously strained, than during the earlier immigration.

Figures showing foreign parentage were first available in the United States Census of 1870. In that year approximately 43 per cent of the people of Massachusetts were foreign-born or native-born of foreign or mixed parentage; in 1880 this percentage had increased to 50 per cent; in 1890 to 56 per cent; in 1900 to 62 per cent; and in 1910 to 66 per cent. The increase in the total population and the per cent of the population who are either foreign-born or of foreign parentage, are shown in the accompanying diagram.

At present, the one-third of the population that is native-born of native parentage is seeking to bring under dominant American influence the other two-thirds of the population.

This gravely perplexing and possibly menacing problem is due in largest measure to the intense industrial expansion that has prevailed during the past fifteen years.

Employers of labor have been speeding ahead under forced draught, and, so far as the human equation has entered into their calculations, it has simply been a question of sufficient supply to meet the demand for labor. The fact that the only labor available for unskilled employment was that of non-English speaking people has caused an influx of those whose life in their own country made them willing to work for a lower wage and to live more cheaply than native-born citizens.

Attracted by the seemingly unlimited opportunity to secure

¹ Computed from the *Annual Reports of the U. S. Commissioner-General of Immigration*, 1904-1913.

employment, a rapidly growing stream of Southern and Eastern Europeans has been pouring in during recent years. Unfa-

MASSACHUSETTS: 1870-1910.

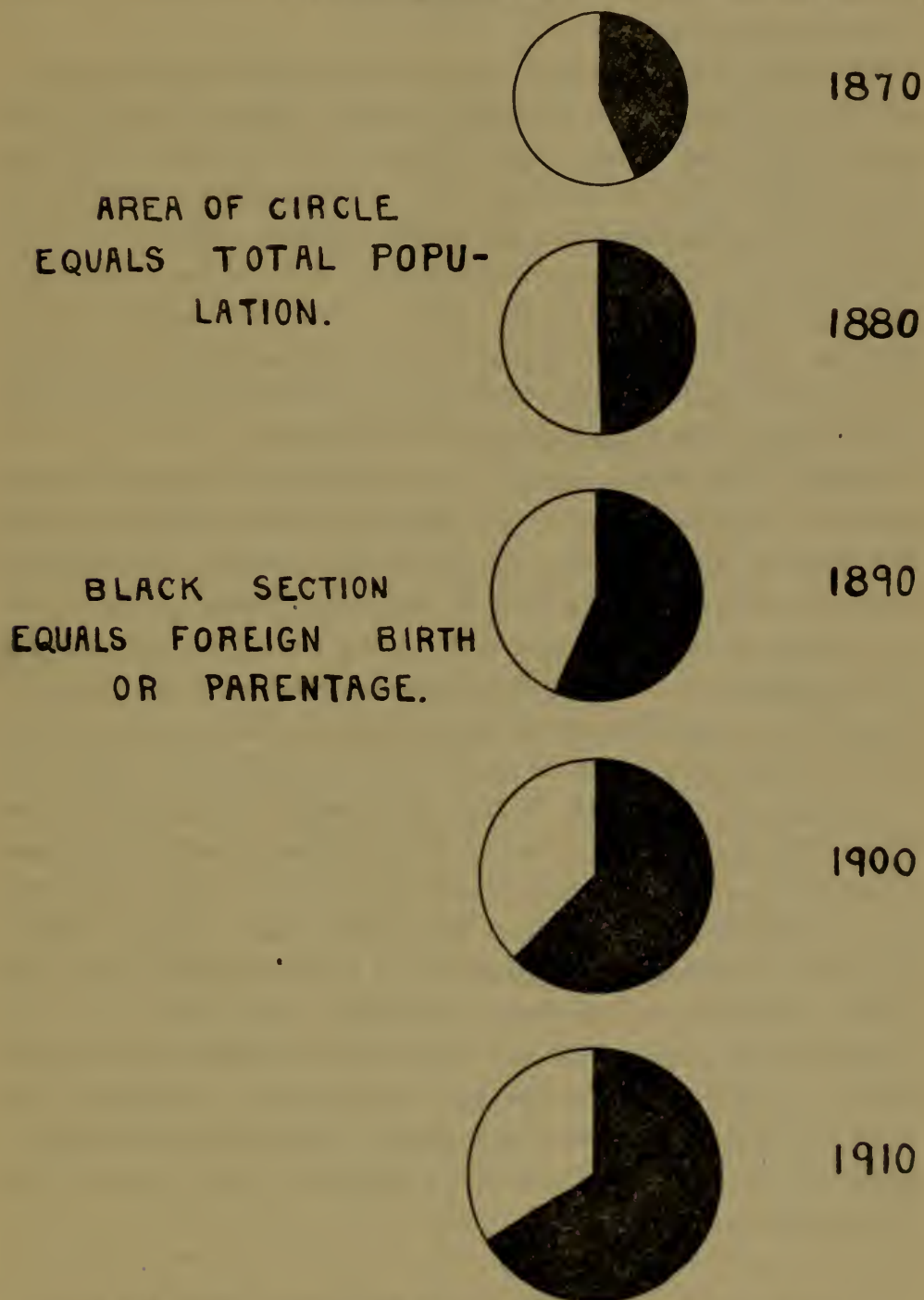


DIAGRAM 3. — Total population of Massachusetts from 1870 to 1910, and percentage of population of foreign birth or foreign parentage.

miliar with our language, our laws, our customs, methods and standards of living, these newcomers have imposed upon many

communities burdens far beyond their financial strength. The addition to the public revenues that has accrued through the tax on the industries, as expanded, has not been sufficient to meet the cost of the civic burdens which the growth of these industries has entailed.

While the Commonwealth has cordially received these natives of every country, it is the right and the duty of the State to decide as to the terms upon which they, as well as all others, may dwell within its borders, and to impose such conditions as it may deem essential to the public welfare. The old *laissez faire* policy of the past, which amounted to officially ignoring the fact that Massachusetts did not have a perfectly homogeneous Anglo-Saxon population, was undoubtedly a wasteful one, if the social wreckage and the incomplete development that such a policy inevitably entails are considered.

To-day the serious danger of continuing it should be apparent. It is therefore to be hoped that the creation of this commission, charged with the impossible task of investigating in seven months every aspect of this far-reaching problem, and of suggesting legislation that will "bring the non-English speaking immigrant . . . into sympathetic relations with American institutions," is the beginning, not the end, of an attempt on the part of the State to know itself, and to modify and adjust its institutions on the basis of that knowledge. Like many other States Massachusetts has acted on the theory that immigration is at the present time wholly a federal matter. The investigations of this commission show that quite apart from the federal question of whether immigration is to be restricted (and if so on what principle) or whether no further restriction is to be adopted, the problem of how those who *do* come may be adjusted to their new environment with the least possible loss of such physical strength and idealism as they bring, will remain a problem that the State and the individual communities of the State must solve.

CHAPTER II.

DISTRIBUTION.

An assertion that is often made to explain the need of distribution is that the immigrant through ignorance goes to the cities and mill towns, "where he is not wanted," instead of to the sparsely settled sections of the west, where his work is much desired. This is not in accordance with the facts. The great majority of the immigrants come to join relatives or friends in the United States, who "want" them so much that they have usually made many sacrifices to enable them to come. Of the immigrants admitted to the United States in the year ended June 30, 1912, 92.5 per cent were coming to join relatives or friends, and 56.1 per cent came on tickets furnished them by relatives or friends in this country.¹ If the immigrant were not industrially "wanted" he would not go to the city or to the mill town, for his friends and relatives are not able to support him in leisure.

The immigrant is in most cases informed by his relatives and friends as to certain places where he is "wanted," and comes guided by that information. This is a kind of distribution that may seem to be working itself out satisfactorily, but as a matter of fact, it only *seems* to be doing so. The immigrant who comes from Southern and Eastern Europe is advised by friends who have been here only a short time themselves, and who know really nothing of where the immigrant may best sell the skill, intelligence or physical endurance he possesses. That the immigrant should receive the prevailing rate of wages, that he should work under decent conditions in an industry which will offer him the largest future earning capacity of which he is capable, that he should not be sent out to jobs that do not exist, or for a few weeks' work to an already oversupplied market, is as important to the American working man with whom he inevitably comes into competition, as to the immigrant himself. He is, therefore, at no time so much in need of intelligent and disinterested advice and assistance as when he first offers himself in the American labor market.

¹ Annual report of the U. S. Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1912, p. 75.

And yet except for such assistance as his inexperienced friends may give him, the immigrant is dependent upon the private employment agent, whose interests often conflict with the interests both of the immigrant and of the community.

Section 1. Distribution through Private Employment Agencies.

Factory work is usually secured not through an employment agent but by direct application at the factory. The employment agent, therefore, usually offers the newly arrived immigrant man "gang" work with the pick and shovel on railroad construction and maintenance; road-building; extending the electric railways; lumbering in the Maine and New Hampshire woods; work in the quarries; harvesting for the farmers in summer and for the ice companies in winter.

The kind of employment varies with the nationality. The Pole is the farmhand in central and western Massachusetts, and the Portuguese is the farmhand on the Cape.¹ The Italian does most of the construction work, although Portuguese, Greek, Polish and other Slavic men are sometimes employed. For the lumber camp, if Irish-Americans, Swedes or French-Canadians cannot be secured, Poles, Russians and Lithuanians are preferred. To the immigrant women, the employment agent usually offers work in hotels, restaurants and private families.

Because of the financial necessities and the helplessness, not only of the immigrant but of all the men and women who are, during unemployment, dependent upon employment agencies, these agencies have been carefully regulated in many States. In Massachusetts, however, their regulation has been woefully inadequate.

STATUTORY REGULATION OF PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The Massachusetts statute regulating employment agencies was passed many years ago, has not been amended since 1894, and lacks all the safeguards of a good law.² It applies only to those "intelligence offices" that furnish employment to domestics, servants and other laborers. Except in Boston the

¹ See ch. IV, sec. 2.

² *Revised Laws of Massachusetts*, ch. 102, secs. 23-28.

license is granted by the mayor and aldermen, and a license fee of not less than \$2 is fixed by the law. No fees can be charged applicants unless employment of the kind demanded is furnished. This is an ambiguous provision, which seems to say that the work must be given before the fee can be accepted. If the person who receives employment is discharged within ten days, and if such discharge is not caused by his inability or incompetence or refusal to work, the agent must refund five-sixths of the amount paid; but as no bond is required of the agent, the recovery of fees is very uncertain. No provision is made for reimbursement for railroad fare, or other expenses incurred, in case the applicant for employment does not secure work of the kind promised him. There is no regulation of the keeping of records, of the kind of receipts that must be given for the fees paid, or of the contracts that must be furnished the men who are hired through the agent and sent to work out of town.

RULES FOR THE REGULATION OF PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES ADOPTED BY THE BOSTON LICENSING BOARD.

The rules of the Boston Licensing Board are more comprehensive than the State law. They provide for two kinds of licenses, known as Class 1 and Class 2 licenses. The holders of the Class 1 licenses are the ones with whom the immigrant comes in contact, for they are authorized by the Board to place coachmen, grooms, lumbermen, seamstresses, cooks, scrubwomen, laundresses, chambermaids, domestic servants, agricultural and other laborers.¹ These agents are required to pay an annual license fee of \$25, and the fees they may charge are \$0.75 for a woman and \$1 for a man, placed in a position paying less than \$4 a week, and 20 per cent of the first week's wages for a woman and 25 per cent for a man, placed at more than \$4 a week. Receipts, record books and regular inspections are required under the Boston rules.

The fundamental defects of the Boston rules are at once apparent. In the first place, the licensing of employment agencies is given to a board whose principal function is the granting of

¹ Class 1 covers almost every kind of agency except teachers', nurses' and theatrical agencies. The license fee and the fees that may be charged by the agent are higher than those for Class 2 agencies.

liquor licenses, and who cannot, therefore, give the attention to employment agencies that is necessary. In the second place, the License Board makes the rules and grants the licenses, and then relies upon the police to enforce the regulations. Bad in theory, this has been found worse in practice.

The Massachusetts Commission to investigate Employment Agencies, which reported to the Legislature in 1911, found that "fraud, dishonesty and immorality" practiced by employment agents went undiscovered and unpunished under the present laws.¹

In its investigation of the relation of the immigrant to the employment agent in Boston and in other cities of the State, the Commission on Immigration has found (1) that the immigrant deals frequently with unlicensed agents who are uncontrolled even by the inadequate regulations of the Massachusetts law; (2) that he is sent to jobs which do not exist or are not the kind of jobs they were represented to be; and (3) that he is frequently overcharged when work is furnished him.

All payment for getting work cannot be regulated under the Employment Agency Law. The foreman in the mill or factory who charges the newly arrived immigrant \$10, \$15 or \$25 for a job and then, under threat of discharge, collects from him again and again, is not an employment agent. Frequent complaints of this were received.² This practice is prohibited by a statute, the enforcement of which is, however, difficult and unjust. It provides that both the foreman and the immigrant are punishable by fine or imprisonment for this offense.³

At one of the hearings of the commission, testimony was given concerning a rubber factory in Massachusetts. For more than a year the Lithuanian employees paid regularly a part of their wages to one of the foremen in order to keep their jobs. Finally, nineteen of the men were persuaded to sign affidavits to this effect. These affidavits were presented to the president of the corporation and within two weeks the nineteen men were discharged.

Most employers find it hard to believe that this kind of exploitation is possible in their establishments, although they

¹ *Report of the Massachusetts Commission to investigate Employment Agencies*, p. 18.

² See Ch. III, sec. 4.

³ *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves*, 1909, ch. 514, sec. 28.

usually make little effort to prevent it. Immigrants of all nationalities are convinced that reporting cases of this sort means, as it did in the case of these Lithuanians, the loss of work to them but not to the foremen. It is believed that vigilance on the part of employers in assisting in the discovery and punishment of foremen who demand or accept money from those under them is necessary to break up such practices. A central employment bureau where all the men are hired has also been found to reduce the possibility of this kind of petty exploitation. If posting the law throughout the factory in English and in the language of the immigrants were required, it would serve as a useful warning.

BOSTON EMPLOYMENT AGENTS SUPPLY IMMIGRANT LABOR FOR
THE LUMBER CAMPS OF NEW ENGLAND.

Readers of the *Reports of the United States Immigration Commission* were shocked to find the statement that "since the evils of involuntary servitude have been largely stamped out in the southern States, there has probably existed in Maine the most complete system of peonage in the entire country." The victims of the system, the report said, are "laborers, largely foreigners" who work in the lumber camps and are secured principally through Boston employment agencies.¹ Although the Maine law, the constitutionality of which has not been tested, still legalizes involuntary servitude to reimburse an employer for money advanced for transportation expenses,² the commission did not find that at present this law was being invoked to compel men to remain at work. It did find, however, serious exploitation and misrepresentation on the part of the employment agencies in Boston and of the ones in New York, Bangor and Portland, by whom the business of furnishing Poles, Russians and Lithuanians for this work is jointly handled.

The past season has been an unusual one, owing to the fact that many men were brought into Maine from Canada during the summer of 1913 to work for the Grand Trunk Railroad.

¹ *Reports of the U. S. Immigration Commission*, Vol. 2, p. 447.

² *Laws of Maine*, 1907, ch. 7. According to this law it is a crime for a person to "enter into an agreement to labor for any lumbering operation or in driving logs and in consideration thereof receive any advances of goods, money or transportation, and unreasonably and with intent to defraud, fail to enter into said employment as agreed and labor a sufficient length of time to reimburse his employer for said advances and expenses."

When the railroad camps were closed, at the end of the season, these men were available for work in the woods, so shipments from Boston were smaller last autumn than in previous years. Individual cases of fraud and abuse have therefore been fewer, but the social and industrial confusion which comes from the fact that the distribution of laborers is in the hands of private employment agencies has been greater. A Boston agent who has supplied the lumber camps around Bangor for many years said that there were 1,000 men idle in that city last season, and yet during October and November he and other agents in Boston were shipping gangs of ten, twenty and forty men several times a week. An investigator for the commission was sent out in November by one such agent with forty Poles. All of them, after a walk of twenty miles, were put to work. On his way back to Boston, this investigator found a group of Poles who had paid fees of \$4 (in one case \$5) in a Boston employment office, and had been given the card of a Bangor agent. In Bangor they were told that they should have paid nothing in Boston, and were given cards to the camp "boss," marked "office fee due." They walked about twenty miles to the camp, and at the end of a week were discharged because, they were told, some of the old employees had returned. Of three men who had paid fees to the Boston agency one was given \$3 when discharged, and two others were given \$3.50. They had all been promised free transportation and \$35 a month and board if they stayed until they were discharged, and \$28 a month if they left before the completion of the work. These men had lost two weeks in time, had walked about forty miles, had spent some money for the things they thought they should need in the camp, and had still to pay for their railroad fare back to Boston. On their return to Boston, if they knew their rights under the law and succeeded in proving their case, they could get back five-sixths of the \$4 they had paid the Boston agent, and he could go on doing the same thing.

A Pole in Peabody, sent to the woods in October, 1913, was promised \$1.15 a day and board. He paid an office fee of \$1.50 to a Boston agency. When he reached Maine his receipt was taken away from him by the Maine agency and he was given a contract on which was stamped "office fee due." He



Exterior and interior views of crude kitchen built by laborers in a construction camp. No place to cook is provided by the company. (See pages 69 and following.)



worked twenty-seven days and was paid \$16; it cost him \$6.50 to get home.

A Russian in Peabody was also sent to Maine by a Boston agency with twenty-seven other Russian and Polish immigrants in September, 1913. They were told by the agent that they would be paid \$35 a month and board, that the fare from Boston to the camp was \$4, and that the railroad station was in the camp. Each of them paid a fee of \$1.50 to the employment office. They walked two days, from early morning till night, to get from the railroad station to the place where they were to work. Finding camp conditions intolerable, eleven of them left after working eighteen days. They were paid \$7 apiece when they demanded their wages. They walked two days back to the railroad station, found the fare was \$13, and had to write to their friends for money to get back to Boston. One Pole who worked twenty-one days had \$7.75 coming to him when office fees and transportation had been deducted. The editor of a Swedish newspaper reported that complaints were formerly received by the paper of similar treatment of Finns and Swedes. Now they have learned that lumbering in Sweden and lumbering in the United States are two very different propositions.

RUSSIANS AND POLES SENT TO CALUMET.

Last June several Russians who were looking for work were picked up on the street and piloted to an employment office by a runner. For this service he charged the immigrants \$1.50 apiece. At the office arrangement was made for them to work in the woods as sawyers, and transportation and office fees were to be advanced. They were given an address in Kineo, Me., taken to the depot and sent to Calumet, Mich., where they were expected to work in the copper mines. When they got away and were picked up by the Immigrants' Protective League in Chicago, after they had worked their way down from Calumet, they had still the card of the Boston agent, calling for work as a sawyer at Kineo, Me. They were unable to explain what had happened to them, had no idea where Maine was, or why they were taken to Michigan. They knew they had been deceived, had been compelled to leave their little

bundle of clothes in order to effect their escape, and insisted that their only desire was to get back to their relatives in West Hanover, Mass.; but when the expense of returning was explained to them they were completely discouraged. More than two hundred Russians and Poles were sent to Calumet through this and another agency last summer. How many of them knew they were being sent to the mines and were to be used as strike-breakers cannot be said.

In New York,¹ Illinois,² and Pennsylvania³ laborers who are sent out of the city are given receipts for any money paid and contracts in the language they speak, showing in detail the terms of transportation, fees, rates of wages, probable duration of the employment and the name of the employer and the place where the work is to be performed.⁴ Duplicates of these contracts are kept on file in the office of the agent, and in New York another copy is filed in the office of the Commissioner of Licenses.⁵ Complaints are handled by an officer especially charged with the enforcement of the Employment Agency Law, whose address is on the back of every receipt and contract. The bond required of an employment agent makes certain the refunding of fees and railroad fare when work is not secured. Under the Massachusetts law and the Boston rules none of these provisions is made; therefore unless the law is amended, the Poles, Russians and Lithuanians will continue to be exploited in this way, and on their return to Massachusetts the State will suffer from the reaction that must follow such experiences.

UNLICENSED AGENTS CONDUCT EMPLOYMENT OFFICES.

Agencies which come within the provisions of the Massachusetts law were found to be operating without a license, and advertising in the newspapers and on the doors of their offices that they were employment agents.

The Italians who do construction work are usually secured, not through the licensed employment agent, but through a "straw boss," or "padrone," who acts as commissary in the

¹ *Laws of New York*, 1910, ch. 700, sec. 182.

² *Illinois Revised Statutes*, ch. 48, 67e, sec. 5.

³ *Laws of Pennsylvania*, 1907, No. 90, sec. 9.

⁴ See Appendix L for abstract of these laws.

⁵ *Laws of New York*, 1910, ch. 700, sec. 182.

camp.¹ He comes to Boston, Worcester or Springfield and inspects the men that the immigrant "banker," with whom he does business, has rounded up for him. Sometimes the "boss," or camp commissary canvasses the colony himself.

Some of these immigrant bankers formerly had employment agency licenses, but apparently found investment in that bit of official paper an unnecessary expense. If men are scarce the banker is paid \$1 or \$2 for every man furnished, and the "boss" is able to more than reimburse himself from their wages. If jobs are few the immigrant pays before he leaves the city as well as after he reaches the camp. No receipts are given these men. Contracts are all verbal, and the men are usually promised much better living conditions, and sometimes better wages, than they are given. The bankers who furnish these men — and every Italian banker visited by the commission's investigator carries on this kind of employment agency business — are covered by the Employment Agency Law and should be licensed.²

Those agents who have no offices, but make their headquarters in North Square in Boston, or canvass in the city generally, are the least responsible group, and yet they cannot be reached by the State law or by the Boston rules. This fact was first discovered by the investigator for the commission, when a judge explained that a man who had charged four Poles \$5 each for jobs as longshoremen, which he had not furnished, was not liable under the employment agency regulations as he had no office.

The impossibility of preventing misrepresentation and fraud on the part of these men who act as agents but maintain no office was illustrated in another case. A Chelsea man made arrangements with a New York agency to ship men from that city to Maine *via* Boston, and to divide the fees. He had no orders for the men, but he knew some Maine names and addresses and was willing to gamble on the men's not being able to find him in case they failed to get work. Fourteen Poles who were sent him on one occasion by the New York agent were forwarded by him to Maine; they failed to get work, and were picked up, stranded, by the police. Twenty more were sent a

¹ See ch. III, sec. 4, "Construction Camps."

² See ch. VIII, sec. 2, "Safeguarding Immigrant Savings."

little later and were stopped in Boston. They had receipts showing they had each paid \$7.50 to the New York agency. Through the New York Bureau of Industries and Immigration, arrangements were made by the commission's investigator for their return to appear against the New York agent. The Chelsea man could not be reached in Massachusetts, as he was not conducting an "intelligence office."

Such, in brief, is the employment agency system as it affects the largest groups of foreign laborers.¹ The women are seldom sent out of town, and the kind of financial exploitation of women which exists is less serious among them than with men. The moral exploitation of the women, of which the Commission to investigate Employment Agencies found evidence,² was not investigated by the Commission on Immigration, as the Massachusetts White Slave Commission is at work on that particular aspect of the problem.

AMENDMENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS EMPLOYMENT AGENCY LAW NECESSARY.

For the protection of the immigrant who is peculiarly helpless in his dealings with the labor agent it is obvious that the private Employment Agency Law in Massachusetts should be brought up to the standard of the laws of other States. Its definition of what constitutes an employment agency should be made more comprehensive in order that the padrone, the banker and the irresponsible street agent may be brought within the law; carefully prescribed records should be kept, and contracts and receipts in the language of the immigrant should be given.

The supervision of these offices should be given to the Board of Labor and Industries, and regular inspections should be made by inspectors of employment agencies. Those engaged in an interstate business should be licensed and supervised by the

¹ The New York Commission on Immigration reported much fraud and misrepresentation in connection with the securing of men to work for their passage by acting as cattle attendants on boats sailing from Boston to England. According to the New York report many Slavs and some other nationalities were shipped for this work by a New York agency working in conjunction with a Boston agency. Owing to the fact that cattle shipments have been infrequent during the past few years, these frauds are no longer serious. But the difficulty in dealing locally with an interstate problem was illustrated by New York's inability to remedy the situation disclosed in that report. *Report of the New York Commission on Immigration*, pp. 79, 80.

² *Report of the Massachusetts Commission to investigate Employment Agencies*, 1911, p. 18.

United States Department of Labor. If this were done the work of all these offices would be put on a quite different basis. Vigilant prosecution of offenders against the law would soon prevent the gross frauds and abuses that are now perpetrated. But better regulation of private employment agencies, which is so much needed in Massachusetts, will only partially meet the situation. Many of these agencies do an interstate business. These can be properly controlled only when they are regulated by federal statute and supervised by the United States Department of Labor. But better regulation of private employment agencies can never solve the real difficulty. The same unintelligent organization of the labor market will continue until, in the interests of the State and of the individual, State and national labor exchanges undertake this work.

Section 2. The State Free Employment Agencies and the Immigrant.

The economic waste that results from the failure to offer the immigrant the guidance he needs in obtaining employment has never been appreciated. The Maine lumber situation which has just been described is a good illustration of the wastefulness of the private employment agency system. The New York, Boston and Bangor agencies, which, working together, have supplied the men in the past, are, of course, in the business for the fees they collect. So, although there is already an oversupplied labor market in Bangor, more men are sent there from New York and Boston, to be laid off in a short time and their places taken by other men in order that fees may be collected.

There is also the economic waste that comes when the foreigner, skilled in a trade in his home country, finds it impossible to follow that trade here. Frequently this is due to the immigrant's inability to make known his skill, or to the fact that his trade is already overcrowded or is not needed in the town in which the relatives to whom he comes happen to live. In securing the personal history schedules of immigrants throughout the State,¹ the commission asked (1) What was your occupation before coming to the United States? and (2) What work did you expect to do here, and why? The answers,

¹ See Appendix A.

of course, were various. Many were ready for any work that could be found; many expected to work in factories because their friends had told them that that was all they could do in this country; but many came expecting to follow their own trade because that was what they had been trained to do.

For example, seven years ago a Polish shoemaker, moved by the letters from his fellow countrymen telling of the splendid conditions here, left his home in Austria when he was twenty-four years old to come to this country. He had learned the trade of shoemaker when a boy of nine, and expected to follow his trade in this country. He spent a month in his search for work, but finally gave it up and took a place in the dyeing department of a large cotton mill. Here he stayed four and one half years. Then he worked as a weaver for nearly two years. Then he drifted into a woolen mill, where he still is, earning from \$8 to \$9 a week.

There are many similar cases of economic waste. A Russian Jew, trained to be a plumber, struggled to support his family by his trade for a year, then gave it up and learned tailoring; a Finn, thirty-nine years old, who was a mason at home, is working as a weaver in a woolen mill, earning \$8 a week; a nineteen-year-old Jew, who was a watchmaker in Russia, is working in a shoe factory in one of the large shoe manufacturing towns, earning \$8.50 a week; a Pole, a trained electrician, who had been in this country a month when he was interviewed, found work in a shoe factory at \$5 a week; a Portuguese tinsmith has been working for five months in a cotton mill where he earns \$6.60 a week; and a Polish locksmith, who has been in the United States four years, is earning \$7 a week in a cotton mill.

There is no question of the wastefulness of allowing a skilled immigrant to drift into a new and usually an unskilled occupation. But, if left to his own resources or to the advice of a relative or friend who has been here four or five years, this sort of waste must occur.

The great majority of young men and women who are coming to the United States do not, however, belong to this group. They are not artisans but peasants from the rural districts of Southern and Eastern Europe, who are having their first in-

dustrial experience in the United States, and whose only asset seems to be their physical strength. That they are unskilled, does not mean, however, that they are all on the same plane as regards ability or aptitude.

The South Italian, who comes to friends or relatives in Boston, finds that the path of least resistance leads him into work as a laborer in construction camps, on the streets or in the building trades. The jobs last only a few weeks or months, so he is constantly looking for work, and is open to the danger of demoralization that comes with enforced periods of idleness. Of the 211 Italians in different parts of the State from whom personal histories were obtained in the investigation of this commission, only 40 per cent gave any evidence that their industrial condition had improved since they came to the United States.¹ With the older men this is perhaps the inevitable result of lack of early training. With the younger men it is the result of unintelligent organization of educational and employment opportunities in the State. In one of the construction camps near Boston the men were practically all young, some of them had had considerable education, all of them had drifted into that work² and none of them knew how he might find work for which he was better fitted.

Those immigrants who desire to improve their condition, and who realize that a change of employment is necessary, must start out blindly. A typical case is that of a strong and intelligent Polish man, twenty-eight years old. He had been a butcher in Russia and came to this country a little over six years ago to avoid service in the Russian army. After three weeks, during which he had no work, he found a job in a rubber factory in a small Massachusetts town. He stayed there four years, and then because his wages were very low, started out to look for better work. In this quest he was employed two weeks in a granite quarry in Vermont, earning \$8 a week; he worked for two months in a saw mill in Canada, where he was paid \$30 a month and board. He was unhappy, however, because there were none of his country people at the mill, and he himself had never learned to speak English. He returned, therefore, to the rubber factory in the little town in Massachusetts, and went back to his old job at the old wages.

¹ See Appendix A for description of method by which this information was obtained.

² See ch. III, sec. 4, "Construction Camps."

A Ruthenian, who borrowed money to come to this country nine years ago, has gone through a similarly blind search for increased opportunity. After looking for work for a few weeks he got a place as weaver in a cotton mill in a town in the western part of the State. There he stayed six months, earning from \$9 to \$10 a week at piecework. In the hope of making more money he moved to a larger city in the Connecticut valley. Here he had no difficulty in obtaining the same work, but the wages too were the same. Six months ago he moved to another cotton mill town in the eastern part of the State. Here he still works the same number of hours and for the same wage.

An Austrian Pole, who came to this country twenty-five years ago as a boy of fifteen, had learned tailoring in his home country and expected to follow the same trade here. He went to a mill town, however, and became a weaver. After nine years he made the venture of moving to a New Hampshire town, hoping that in the cotton mills there he might be able to earn higher wages. The experiment was a failure. He came back to his old home, applied again for a job in the mill, and has been working there without a break for the last fifteen years, earning practically the same wages.

Everywhere in Massachusetts there is this restless movement of the immigrant from place to place and from mill to mill. How serious this is, the table in Appendix F, showing the changes in one cotton mill during the past year, indicates. This undirected wandering in search of work by people whose sources of information are so meager means economic loss for the employer as well as for the immigrant, and complicates every community problem. It is, however, the evidence of a proper dissatisfaction with a failure to advance. To make this dissatisfaction result in something more than a weary and discouraging restlessness, education and intelligent direction into the kind of employment for which the workers are most suited is necessary. Such direction can be given only by agencies that are considering the good of the State and not the fees they may collect.

The first step toward the reduction of the evils of the present system of distribution is a State employment agency

clearing through a national agency, which shall make a comprehensive study of the labor market, shall give special attention to the casual labor problem, shall do the practical work of placing the individual man in the individual job, and shall develop a follow-up system, so that subsequent work shall be increasingly efficient.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE FREE EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES NECESSARY.

The beginnings of such a system already exist. Massachusetts has had State free employment offices since 1906.¹ There are at present offices in Boston, Fall River, Springfield and Worcester. These agencies are, however, making no attempt to meet the needs of the immigrant.² At one time there were several interpreters at the Boston office, but they are no longer employed, and no attempt is being made at the Boston or other offices to handle the immigrant "gang" labor, although the need so sorely exists, or to direct the individual immigrant into the work for which he is best suited.

With the limited funds and indifferent public backing that these agencies have had, they have probably accomplished all that could be expected of them. They have been under the general supervision of the director of the Bureau of Statistics, whose principal work is the collection and tabulation of the statistics of labor, of manufacturing and of municipal finance, and the taking of the State census. If the State employment agencies are to meet the needs of the community their scope and method of organization must be greatly enlarged. An employment bureau should be created under the Board of Labor and Industries and placed in charge of a supervisor of employment who should be especially qualified to develop this work.

To accomplish what is possible in Massachusetts, the importance of the organization of the labor market must be recog-

¹ *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves*, 1906, ch. 435; 1909, ch. 514, secs. 1-9.

² Although the report of their work for 1912 shows that 42 per cent of the men and 62 per cent of the women who secured employment during the year were foreign-born (*Sixth Annual Report of the Massachusetts State Free Employment Offices*, p. 8), these were in the main the English-speaking foreign-born who have been in the country for many years. See comment on this in *Bulletin of the U. S. Bureau of Labor*, Misc. Series No. 1, *Statistics of Unemployment and the Work of Employment Offices*, p. 68, and *Report of the Massachusetts Commission to Investigate Employment Agencies*, p. 88.

nized by the public, and its employment offices must no longer be made an additional burden to an officer whose main efforts are perforce given to work that is only very remotely connected with the employment problem. The work of labor exchanges in England, Germany and Austria furnishes evidence of the practical results of larger efforts.

Section 3. The United States Division of Information as an Agency in Distribution.

The United States Immigration Law of 1907 created a "Division of Information" in the Bureau of Immigration, which was designed "to promote a beneficial distribution of aliens admitted into the United States among the several States and territories desiring immigration."¹ This law was undoubtedly passed on the theory that such a bureau could so direct the immigrant on landing that a more uniform distribution throughout the United States could be secured. But such a plan does not take account of the fact already referred to, that because the immigrant usually comes to join relatives or friends already here, the field of the government must be redistribution.

While the Division of Information has done something in furnishing what is relatively a very small number of men with information about openings, particularly for farm laborers, it has never been so organized as to be generally known by the immigrant or the employing public. Before its national possibilities can be tested it must be developed into a labor exchange serving native and immigrant laborers who are alike in need of reliable advice as to employment opportunities.

Secretary Wilson of the United States Department of Labor, in an address before the American Federation of Labor, in November, 1913, declared that he hoped the present ineffective Division of Information would be enlarged and developed during the present administration, urging that the protection of the American workman, as well as of the immigrant, made this policy necessary.²

If well-organized State bureaus were co-operating with a National Bureau of Information such as Secretary Wilson de-

¹ *34 United States Statutes at Large* (1905-1907), Pt. I, ch. 1134, sec. 40.

² *Report of Proceedings of the Thirty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor*, pp. 176, 177.

scribed, unemployment would be greatly reduced, and much of the wastefulness of the present maladjustment could be prevented. The development of this Division of Information is a federal matter, and therefore outside the scope of this commission's work; so also is federal regulation and supervision by the United States Department of Labor of private employment agencies which are doing an interstate business. So far as Massachusetts is concerned the commission recommends: —

1. That a State Bureau of Employment shall be organized under the Board of Labor and Industries, and that the supervision of the present State free employment offices shall be transferred to this Bureau. A bill embodying these recommendations is submitted with this report.¹

2. That the present private Employment Agency Law shall be amended along the lines suggested in this discussion.

¹ See p. 226.

CHAPTER III.

THE HOUSING OF THE IMMIGRANT.

Section 1. General Statement.

To investigate the housing of immigrants throughout the State was fortunately as unnecessary as it was impossible in the time at the disposal of this commission. Massachusetts has been making housing reports since the middle of the last century, when the Sanitary Commission reported to the State Legislature its indictment of the inefficient administration of health laws by local officials.¹

Recent investigations of housing conditions have been made in Cambridge, Fall River, Springfield and Newburyport by local housing committees, in Boston by the 1915 committee, and in Lawrence by the trustees of the White Fund in consultation with the survey department of the Russell Sage Foundation. This last, which is by far the most comprehensive, was undertaken by Lawrence before the recent strike, and was published in 1912. Kenngott's "Record of a City" contains a valuable chapter on the "Housing of the Operatives" in Lowell.²

Except for the very general powers granted the boards of health there is no State housing legislation in Massachusetts. The nearest approach to it are the town and city housing acts adopted by the Legislature in 1911³ and 1912.⁴

Since these measures are permissive in form, taking effect when adopted by a locality, they constitute merely a standard for housing legislation which has been recommended by the State. In the beginning of the year 1914 these standardized requirements had been adopted by 15 towns;⁵ the one for cities by none as yet.

In general, wholly inadequate laws which are poorly enforced are the rule. Dark rooms, overcrowding, insanitary conditions are found in Springfield, Worcester and Boston, as well as in

¹ *Report of Massachusetts Commission on a Sanitary Survey of the State*, 1850.

² Kenngott, George F. *The Record of a City*, ch. III.

³ *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves*, 1912, ch. 635.

⁴ *Idem*, 1913, ch. 786.

⁵ These are Arlington, Belmont, Braintree, Lexington, Milton, Nahant, North Andover, Reading, Stoneham, Walpole, Watertown, Wenham, Weston, Weymouth, Winthrop.



Typical of the congestion which is common in the foreign districts in industrial cities and towns of Massachusetts. (*From Kenngott, The Record of a City. Photograph No. 20.*)



A block in Lowell of forty-eight tenements which houses three hundred people, mainly French Canadians. (*From Kenngott, The Record of a City. Photograph No. 21.*)

Holyoke, Fall River, New Bedford, Lowell and Lynn; in Chicopee, Ipswich, Maynard, Ware and Adams, as well as in Barre, Wilbraham and Webster and other cities and towns in the State.

In some of the cities in which the commission held hearings the members of the local boards of health were found to be ignorant of the law which they were supposed to be enforcing, and of the conditions they should have been trying to correct, and so were without any program. In other cases the Board of Health was really hard at work on the problem, but found the difficulties greater than it could overcome.

In the earlier days of manufacturing many employing corporations provided shelter and sometimes board for their employees, and this is still done to some extent.¹ Creditable instances occur of decent accommodations at reasonable cost provided by a company for its employees, as an enlightened self-interest alone might often dictate.

Experience, some of it very bitter, has, however, pretty generally convinced employers, employees and the public at large that it is contrary to public policy to have one body of men at once the employers and the landlords of others. The powers thus combined in one control can be made to buttress one another in ways which create much bad feeling if not actual hardship. We believe, therefore, that it is not too much to say that the policy of corporation-owned tenements is outlived.

On the other hand, the ownership of his own home by the employee, the ideal of an earlier generation, is of questionable advantage under modern conditions. The man who owns his home, while more independent in time of strike than the tenant of an employer, is even more than the renter a sufferer from prolonged local depression.

This is peculiarly the case where a single concern is the source of practically all local employment. There are few more tragic plights than that of the men who have sunk the little savings of long years of self-denial in investments in an industrially dead locality.

¹ Of the 1,217 manufacturers who replied to the questions sent out by the commission, 122, or a little more than 10 per cent, reported that they furnish board, lodging or houses for their employees. Of these 122, 42 were manufacturers of cotton goods and 45 of woolen goods. Only 5 of the 122 companies make patronage of the company houses a condition of employment. Thirteen, however, reported that their employees are practically obliged to live in the company houses, because others are not available.

However this may be, in practice the immigrant does and must in most cases hire his home, whether cottage or rooms in a tenement house. The speculative builder, as experience in every industrial community has demonstrated *ad nauseam*, is not to be trusted to build wisely or even in any true sense economically. The way out would appear to be for the employers to set on foot and finance building of homes, planned on an adequate scale and on modern lines of construction, and managed on business principles *through an independent body of trustees*. Whether or not the interest on the investment should be limited to 5 per cent and the surplus devoted to improvements and fresh building, and whether co-operative features might be introduced, are questions well worth consideration. But the main thing is to secure freedom from control by the employing corporation management (so that, for instance, no pressure on its behalf would be brought to bear on tenants on strike) and at the same time to enlist the moral and financial backing of the men most interested in the upbuilding of the town and in the provision of good homes for their workers.

But private undertakings of this sort would in no degree relieve the public of its responsibility for the enforcement of decent housing regulations. Local control has been found woefully inadequate in many parts of Massachusetts. The reason for this has been nowhere more forcibly stated than in the Lawrence survey, which was made, it should be remembered, on that city's own initiative.

"The citizens with influence and civic ideals are too few," it declares. "Many cities have such economic balance within themselves that they are far more integers than Lawrence, and far better able to take care of themselves. The city is woefully weak because there is lacking in the control of its civic affairs the direct sense of shame and personal responsibility and the efficient, public-spirited, controlling interest which the mill-owning families would have if they were residents. Because the mill owners live outside of the city the housing problem is a State problem, and can be solved only by State legislation."¹ "With unusually strong religious prejudices and race hatreds, and with the absence of those who conduct its chief enterprises,

¹ *The Report of the Lawrence Survey*, p. 111.



Homes of Poles in Maynard. Corporation-owned houses known as "Railroad Row."



Has Chelsea forgotten the fire?

such a community would seem to have the chances all against its being able to cure itself.”¹

Various excuses for intolerable housing conditions were offered the commission; in many cases low wages; in others, speculative building, excessive rents and neglect on the part of the landlords; in still others the immigrant was described as preferring the darkness, filth and squalor in which he was sometimes found. It should be remembered, however, that as long as the community tolerates bad housing so that underpaid workmen can be accommodated, the workmen will continue to be underpaid; as long as it protects the profits of neglect and bad building construction, many landlords will continue to profit by this public tolerance and to invest further capital in buildings which will be a permanent menace to health and morals.

There is a great deal of talk about teaching the immigrant American standards. This teaching begins with his experience with Massachusetts housing laws, and it is idle to imagine that he will believe that we have desirable standards of health and cleanliness, when too often the America which he knows is so intolerably dirty; or that law is respected in the United States when he sees it flagrantly violated on every side.

According to one authority the industrial city or town is, “baldly stated, a tool room attached to a workshop.” The State makes itself responsible for the enforcement of sanitary conditions in the workshop, but leaves to the local community the care of the tool room. This commission, therefore, believes that even if the standard housing laws which the State has recommended for local adoption were universally in force, voluntarily or by compulsion, there would remain the need for State supervision of the enforcement of these laws. For this, a permanent State Housing Commissioner, with broad powers and an adequate number of inspectors, is absolutely essential.

In addition to calling attention to the general need of State responsibility for the enforcement of housing regulations the commission wishes to present especially three aspects of housing which are peculiarly immigrant problems, and which are not usually so considered. These are the problems of the immigrant lodger, of the so-called non-family groups of immigrant men,

¹ *The Report of the Laurence Survey*, p. 114.

and of the living conditions in construction camps and other places where laborers are temporarily housed in large numbers.

THE IMMIGRANT LODGER.

To discuss this and most of the other problems of the immigrant intelligently it must be kept in mind that a very large per cent of the newcomers are young people; also that a very large number are men who either are unmarried or have left their wives behind them when they started out on the American experiment. Many of the young women from Austria, Hungary and Russia come as pioneers, expecting to bring over the other members of their families on their savings. The relatives and friends to whom they come have themselves usually been here only a short time, and have as yet had no chance to "make good." In many cases these relatives or friends expect to assist them in finding a boarding place and a first job, and after that the girls are entirely dependent on their own resources.

These young immigrant men and women constitute the demand which makes the "lodger problem" in our foreign colonies. In the mill town the wife chooses between taking in lodgers or working in the mill as a means of supplementing her husband's insufficient wage. Sometimes, however, the reason for taking lodgers is not stern necessity but the desire to make payments on a house that is being purchased; in some instances it may be to add to the bank balance because of greed; but in many more the reason is that the immigrant sees that the only possible release for himself and his family from their present conditions is the accumulation of some money "for a start."

In many cases the lodger is received into an already overcrowded household out of kindness, because he comes from the same country, and the older people remember how forlorn they were on arrival. But whatever their motive the unattached immigrant has only two alternatives. He must either become a boarder in a household, or, with a group of others, start co-operative housekeeping, forming what housing reports call a "non-family group." The latter is frequently done by the men and will be discussed later.

The housing of the unmarried immigrant woman is a special problem which has received as yet little consideration.

Section 2. The Immigrant Girl and the Lodger Problem.

How large a group the immigrant girls constitute is shown by the fact that during the year ended June 30, 1912, 93,267 unmarried girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one were admitted to the United States as immigrants.¹ Of this number approximately 7,832² were destined to Massachusetts. The following table shows their nationality: —

TABLE 5. — *Approximate Number of Single Female Immigrants Fourteen to Twenty-one Years of Age admitted during the Year ended June 30, 1912, and destined to Massachusetts, by Race or People.*³

RACE OR PEOPLE.	Number of Single Females Fourteen to Twenty-one Years.
English-speaking: —	
English, Scotch and Welsh,	539
Irish,	1,244
Total, English-speaking,	1,783
Non-English speaking: —	
Polish,	1,765
Italian,	885
Jewish,	785
Lithuanian,	531
Portuguese,	419
Scandinavian,	285
French,	253
Finnish,	241
Ruthenian,	161
Greek,	123
Russian,	115
German,	94
Others,	392
Total non-English speaking,	6,049
Total number admitted,	7,832

¹ *Annual Report of the U. S. Commissioner-General of Immigration*, 1912, p. 79, Table VII B.

² This statement and the table are based on the assumption that in each nationality the proportion of single females fourteen to twenty-one years of age was the same for the immigrants destined to Massachusetts as for those admitted to the United States as a whole.

³ Compiled from *Annual Report of the U. S. Commissioner-General of Immigration*, 1912, p. 78, Table VII B; p. 89, Table IX. In the reports of the U. S. Commissioner-General of Immigration, Canadians are classified as English or French.

According to these figures, during one year, 6,049 non-English speaking girls came to Massachusetts, as compared with 1,783 who were English-speaking. Of the former the Polish, numbering 1,765, constituted by far the largest element.

Among these girls are many in every nationality who are coming to relatives or friends who can provide the care and protection they need, but many of them come to live with strangers upon whom they have no claim and who in many cases themselves emigrated only a year or two before.

CONGESTION MORALLY DANGEROUS TO THE IMMIGRANT GIRL.

Because more men than women come, those families with whom they live usually have, in addition to the girl, three or four men boarders. These young men and women have come from family life in a rural community in Europe to absolutely new conditions of overcrowding, lack of privacy, and freedom from parental and community restraint. The following typical cases show what some of the conditions are:—

In a dilapidated tenement, where the rain comes in through the walls and ceiling, a family of seven have an apartment of four rooms, with two men lodgers and one woman. There is one toilet in the basement for the thirty-two persons who live in the building. This girl is eighteen and speaks very little English, although she has been here two years. She has not been to night school because she has been afraid "of being treated badly by the men;" but she is entirely ignorant of the danger in her living conditions.

A Jewish girl of eighteen, who has been here seven months, works in a button factory, has already learned a little English and boards with a family of seven, which has also two men lodgers.

A Lithuanian girl has lived for four years in a family of three who have four rooms and eight lodgers, five men and three women. This girl works as a stitcher in a tailor shop. She started to go to night school when she first came, but the landlady objected as she wanted her to help with the housework in the evening.

A sixteen-year-old Jewish girl came with her father, but is not living in the same house with him. She is lodging in a house where there are four in the family, three men lodgers and herself, all in five rooms.

A Lithuanian girl, who was eighteen years of age at the time of her arrival, has been in this country four years. She worked for the first two months in a stocking factory for \$2 a week, and since then has been in a brush factory earning \$7 a week. She has lived in three different places since coming to this country. In the first place, there were five rooms,



A dark bedroom. (*From Aronovici, Housing Conditions in Fall River.*)



A bedroom whose only window opens against an adjoining wall. (*From Aronovici, Housing Conditions in Fall River.*)



Tenements on the canal in Lowell on the edge of the Greek colony. (*From Kenney, The Record of a City. Photograph No. 32.*)

four in the family, and two men and two women lodgers; in the second place, there were four rooms, three in the family, and two men and two women lodgers. At present she is living in a tenement of five rooms with a family of three, who have three men and one woman lodger.

A Polish girl of eighteen who has been in America four months, having borrowed her passage money from her brother in this country, is lodging with a family of four who live in four rooms with five lodgers, three men and two women. This girl is working seven days a week, washing cars in the railroad yards in Boston.

Although few Italian girls come alone, the following case was taken from the personal history schedules of the commission: —

Two cousins, each sixteen years old, have been here two months. They came alone, and are working in a candy factory. Both gave as the reason for their coming the financial conditions of their families in Italy. They lodge in an apartment of three rooms with a family of six, with whom also live two men lodgers.

There are certain housing conditions prevalent among the Greeks which are different from those just described, but quite as dangerous. In mill towns where there are large numbers of young Greek people without their families it is not uncommon for a group of young men and women to have an apartment together on a sort of co-operative plan. Sometimes a brother and sister are the basis of the arrangement, or some of the young people may be cousins.

For instance, in a mill town which has one of the largest Greek colonies in Massachusetts, in the downstairs tenement of a two-story house is a group of eight young people living in this way. There are four girls ranging from sixteen to twenty-four years of age, and four men. They have two rooms and a kitchen. The apartment is clean and orderly. Two of the girls are sisters and have been here eight years, taking care of themselves quite successfully, though they have no relatives in this country.

In securing personal history schedules in immigrant neighborhoods, the commission found that out of 750 households 378 had boarders or lodgers, and in 124 of these there were both men and women.¹ The number of rooms occupied by these 124 households in which both men and women lodgers were found is shown by the following table: —

¹ See Appendix A.

TABLE 6. — *Households in which Both Men and Women Lodgers lived.*
Number of Rooms in Apartment, together with Number of Persons.

Number of Rooms in Apartment,	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8 or more.	Total Number of Apart- ments.
NUMBER OF PERSONS.	NUMBER OF APARTMENTS.							
3,	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
4,	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	3
5,	-	2	4	2	1	-	-	9
6,	-	2	5	2	1	-	1	11
7,	-	-	1	5	2	-	-	8
8,	-	-	5	10	6	1	1	23
9,	1	1	8	6	3	-	1	20
10,	-	1	7	6	4	-	1	19
11,	-	-	-	2	4	-	-	6
12,	-	-	1	3	3	-	-	7
13,	1	-	-	2	1	-	2	6
14,	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	4
15 or more,	1	-	-	1	1	1	3	7
Total,	3	3	32	40	28	2	11	124

According to these figures, in one instance ten persons, including young men and women lodgers, were found living in three rooms; there was one case of twelve persons in four rooms; and one case of fifteen persons in five rooms. But more appalling still are two cases, one of thirteen and another of fifteen persons living in two rooms.

Of the 65 single women who were found by the commission living in the same households with men lodgers, 45, or nearly 70 per cent, were girls under twenty-one years of age. Of these, four were only sixteen, eight were seventeen, and thirteen were eighteen years of age.

Among immigrant communities there are many "causes" which explain the unmarried mother. Because of her ignorance of English she is less able to protect herself than the American country girl, whose helplessness has been so often emphasized. Near an immigrant neighborhood, if at all, the disreputable saloon, dance hall and hotel are usually tolerated, so that the environment to which the immigrant girl comes has dan-

gers of which she is entirely ignorant. Her recreational needs are less understood than are those of the native-born American, and the break with her old-world traditions has left her with fewer standards of judgment. Altogether she is in many ways an easy victim of the unscrupulous. But in the housing conditions just described the lack of privacy and of the restraints which privacy brings, may be, with entire absence of evil intent, the sole cause of her ruin. In the records of the State Reformatory at Sherborn, of the State Infirmary at Tewksbury, of the social service department of the Massachusetts General Hospital, and of other private agencies, abundant evidence of this was found. The following typical cases were selected: —

A Finnish girl of twenty-six came to a Massachusetts mill town alone, leaving a mother in Finland dependent on what the girl was able to earn in America, so she has sent money regularly to her mother. The landlady at her lodging house is practically her only friend. The father of her illegitimate child lived in the same lodging house and is from "near home" in Finland. He disappeared when her condition was discovered, although he had promised to marry her, and she was left terrified by her lack of friends and her new responsibilities. Another girl came from Russia with her family four years ago. There are six in the family and they had three lodgers, two men and one girl, in a tenement of three rooms. The congestion made the tragedy for both girls almost inevitable.

This overcrowding does not necessarily lead to disastrous results in the very houses where it exists, but it brings about a certain carelessness and familiarity which make other conditions dangerous as well.

A Polish girl left the old country when she was nineteen and came to a cousin in Lawrence. Her mother is dead and her father is in Russia. The cousin is a married woman and paid the girl's passage to America. She worked in a mill as a spinner, and as long as she lived with her cousin everything went well. During a strike in the mills she went to Boston and lived in a lodging house, where, among other lodgers, lived the man who is the father of her illegitimate child.

A Polish girl of nineteen, who has been in America two years, working in a restaurant in Boston, lodges in an apartment of four rooms, where a Polish man and his wife have four men and nine girl lodgers. She came from Europe alone, expecting to be with her father, but he had gone to Canada, and she was obliged to find a lodging place and begin to work

immediately. She has an illegitimate child by a man who was a lodger in the same house, and who came from the same village in Poland.

A Lithuanian girl of eighteen has been here one year and a half, but speaks no English. In her boarding house there were four rooms, three persons in the family, and eight men and eight women lodgers. She has an illegitimate child who was born at the lodging house. Recently the girl went to live with a sister so that she can keep the child with her.

Although the promise of marriage is a factor in cases of betrayal of American girls, it is especially easy to mislead the foreign girls in this way because of their ignorance of American customs.

There are also the cases where under some special strain or excitement, as for example, after a wedding or dance, when liquor has been freely used, barriers of moral restraint are broken down. This occurs most frequently in the homes that are overcrowded, and where in consequence a spirit of familiarity has developed.

That the housing conditions described in the first part of this section must almost inevitably produce these results in many cases no one would question. The point that should be emphasized is that at present there seems to be no constructive program for the protection of these girls from the very obvious danger in their living conditions. Enforcement of decent housing standards will reduce the overcrowding, but it will still leave the immigrant girl open to a kind of temptation to which we know that no girl should be exposed. Private agencies have long been at work on the problem of providing boarding clubs for the American country girl who invades the city and the industrial town. But these agencies have not entered this field. They have not developed a means of handling the immigrant girl or the larger groups of single immigrant men.

Section 3. Non-family Groups of Men.

For the men the only alternative to the lodging house¹ is co-operative housekeeping in non-family groups, — an arrangement even more unsatisfactory so far as the health and morals of the young men are concerned. For this reason the majority of Poles, Lithuanians and Italians in Massachusetts choose to



House in Worcester occupied by "non-family group" of twenty Greeks.

lodge with their married friends. Among certain nationalities of recent immigration, however, the opportunities for lodging with families are rare, owing to the very small percentage of women in this country. This was found to be especially true in Massachusetts of the Armenians, the Greeks and the Turks.

During the three years between July 1, 1910, and June 30, 1913, 4,500 Armenians, 15,703 Greeks and 1,320 Turks who were admitted to the United States gave Massachusetts as their destination.¹ Of the total number of Armenians admitted to the United States, in one year,² 86 per cent were males; of the Greeks, 90 per cent; and of the Turks, 94 per cent.

In the last three years, therefore, approximately 3,870 Armenian men came to Massachusetts as compared with 630 Armenian women; approximately 14,133 Greek men as compared with 1,570 Greek women; and 1,241 Turkish men as compared with 79 Turkish women.³

It is natural that among immigrants who have come from countries where the present emigration is comparatively new the number of males should be far in excess of the number of females. Single men are, of course, the most free to come. Married men come first alone and try the experiment of life in this country before sending for their wives and children. Moreover, wherever the immigration is to some extent temporary, and men come with the idea of returning to their homes in the future, these men are of course unlikely to bring their families with them. The newness of the immigration is in part responsible for the present conditions among the Armenians and the Greeks, and so the preponderance of the men over the women is, more or less, a temporary condition, which, to some extent, will be remedied by time. The Turks, on the other hand, have strong, permanent motives in their religion and in their attitude toward women for not wishing to bring their wives to this country.

In the investigation of the commission, 35 non-family groups

¹ Compiled from the *Annual Reports of the U. S. Commissioner-General of Immigration*, 1911, 1912 and 1913.

² *Annual Report of the U. S. Commissioner-General of Immigration*, 1912, p. 74.

³ These figures are based on the assumption that the ratio of the sexes was the same for those destined for Massachusetts as for those admitted to the United States as a whole. On account of the wars there has been considerable emigration among the Greeks and the Turks from the United States during the last year or two, so that these figures are not to be taken as representing the net increase in the numbers of those nationalities in Massachusetts.

were studied, representing a total of over 300 men. Twenty-three of the groups were Greek, nine were Armenian, and three, Turkish. They were located in the larger cities, — Boston, Worcester, Springfield and Lynn, — and in the smaller cities or towns, — Chicopee, Stoneham, Ipswich and Northbridge. The conditions found are believed to be typical of hundreds of such groups throughout the State.

Nearly all the Armenians, many of whom had come to this country to escape persecution or to avoid serving in the Turkish army, expected to remain here. Many now living in non-family groups were planning to send for their wives within a short time, and a considerable number were already naturalized or had declared their intention of becoming citizens. Most of the Greeks living in non-family groups had come to the United States for economic reasons, and were uncertain as to whether or not they would remain here permanently, for loyalty to their home country is strong among them. The Turks had come for the definite purpose of making money to take back home. They are hard-working and economical, but have little interest in learning English or in sharing in the civic life. The great majority of the Turks were married; among the Greeks many more were young single men, scarcely more than boys. Most of the Armenians and Turks living in such groups are unskilled laborers, earning from \$8 to \$12 a week; a good many are in large machine works. Among the Greeks, the occupations are more varied. Some are in shoe factories, some in restaurants, some in shoe-shine parlors.

The method of living is similar. The men hire an apartment, or sometimes a house, and share the rent, which generally amounts to between \$1.50 and \$2.50 a month for each. Sometimes one of the men acts as boss, and runs the apartment for the others, cooking the meals himself perhaps. A few instances were found where the boss was married, or where his sister lived with him. In three of the 23 Greek groups visited, a woman was living. In the Armenian groups visited, no women lived, while in the whole Turkish colony at Worcester, of 400 or more men, there is probably not one Turkish woman.

Occasionally, the men club together and hire a cook, each paying usually \$1 a month. In most of the groups visited,

however, the men do their own cooking, either acting each one as his own commissary, or taking turns at buying and cooking the food. Occasionally, especially among the Greeks, the men eat at restaurants or coffee-houses.

As is to be expected under the circumstances, the living and sleeping conditions of these men are far from good. In most cases economy leads them to choose houses for which rents are low, and which consequently are often in a most dilapidated condition. These houses are planned for a family of four or five persons, and are totally unsuited for the purposes to which they are put. The sanitary conditions are far from adequate; the furnishings are often the poorest possible. Moreover, as the rooms receive the minimum of care and attention from the men, the apartments are seldom clean and are sometimes filthy. The sleeping quarters are, of course, crowded. Frequently the floor is covered with mattresses and pillows, and clothes are scattered about the rooms. Among the Turks beds are seldom used.

It is generally impossible to do more than estimate the size of the group, as the men understate the number. Police and health officers testify that day and night shifts are frequently found. In one case an investigator was told that a house of seven rooms was occupied by fourteen Turks, sleeping two in a room. On a visit at five in the afternoon he found eighteen men who apparently lived there, while four others who worked at night were sleeping in an adjoining room. Making a night inspection, he discovered seventeen men occupying the seven rooms. This investigation was made by the commission early in the autumn. In the winter, when the men drift back to the cities of Massachusetts from construction work all over New England, the numbers are greatly augmented.

The solution usually suggested for these conditions is a good housing law properly enforced. This is, of course, necessary, and cannot be too strongly urged, but to meet the social needs of this group of young foreign men and women something more is necessary. With the men in the non-family groups the most serious difficulty is their general forlornness. They do not touch the outside world, they have no normal family or social relationships in their own group, they work long hours for low

wages and are open to every temptation. That abnormal vice develops dangerously among them is not surprising.

Most people appreciate the dangers and temptations which American country girls or young men face in the change from rural to city life, and many agencies are at work on the problem of their proper housing and recreation. For these young immigrants the dangers are more serious because the change is even greater, and the crisis they are facing is therefore more difficult. So far as their housing conditions are concerned, the young men, as we have said, must choose the demoralizing non-family groups or a household which can hardly be so equipped as to offer men and women lodgers proper protection. For this reason it is necessary, as Mr. Veiller of the National Housing Association points out, to "recognize that there is need of some place in which the large number of single men that come to our shores . . . can be cheaply lodged. . . . Where there is a considerable alien population we must carefully find out the facts as to the need of housing accommodations for single laborers of this kind, and see to it that lodging houses of the very best type are provided for their accommodations, placing one of these in each alien center, and not attempting to house the various races in the same house."¹

The "corporation boarding house" which the mills used to provide for their employees is not now, for the reasons already given, regarded as the solution of the difficulty by leaders in social and industrial questions. Even less can speculative builders be trusted. Ultimately, municipally owned lodging houses, it is hoped, will be provided. But, to quote again from Mr. Veiller, there is for the present "a great opportunity for our philanthropists. It is pioneer work. The ground has yet to be broken from the very beginning."² We have yet to learn what is the best type of lodging house to build; the whole question is still to be studied in all its aspects."³ Instead, however, of the special attention which should be given to men living under these abnormal conditions, the commission found that the communities in which

¹ Veiller, Lawrence, *Room Overcrowding and the Lodger Evil*. National Housing Association Publications, No. 18, pp. 14, 15.

² In a few places boarding clubs for their men employees have recently been built by manufacturing concerns. These are, however, generally reserved for the Americans or older immigrants.

³ Veiller, Lawrence, *Room Overcrowding and the Lodger Evil*. National Housing Association Publications, No. 18, p. 15.



This room is used by a "non-family group" of ten Turks in day and night shifts.

they lived were generally unaware of their existence, and agencies which might have been helpful knew nothing about them.

Section 4. Housing Conditions in Construction Camps.

Construction work in connection with the maintenance or extension of steam and electric railroads, the building of roads and rock and earth excavation furnishes employment for large numbers of recent foreigners. Construction companies estimate that less than 20 per cent of the men now doing this work are American or Irish-American. Of the remaining 80 per cent, the great majority are Italian, but Portuguese, Polish, Greek and Russian men are also employed.

Often the work is near a town where the men can board in families of their own nationality; but even when this is possible construction camps are sometimes maintained and the men are required to live in them as a condition of their employment.

The camp usually consists of "box cars," on either side of which three or four decker bunks are built, or, more frequently in Massachusetts, of the "shanty bunk house." This is a large shed of corrugated iron, or of wood covered with paper. There is usually a door at each end, two small windows and two platforms running the length of the building on either side. On these platforms bags of straw which serve for mattresses are placed, and here the men sleep.

There is usually a stove in the middle of the room on which the men are sometimes allowed to cook, and often the commissary keeps, in one end of the room, the supplies which he sells the men.

In these camps water is often difficult to secure, there is usually no provision for outhouses, and no effort is made to enforce sanitary regulations, so that those men who have standards quickly lose them.

THE "SHANTY BUNK HOUSE" AND THE PADRONE SYSTEM.

An Italian camp of this sort is usually in charge of an Italian "boss," who is allowed to hire the men, sell them food and liquor and collect the shanty rent of 25 cents a week.

The handing over of this power to these "bosses" has meant the perpetuation of the padrone system in Massachusetts.

The word "padrone" means, in Italian, master or "boss." In the United States it is understood to mean "master," as we use that word in a slave system. Formerly, when the importation of contract laborers was not prohibited by law, and contracts made in Europe were enforceable in the United States, the position of the padrone was different from the one he occupies to-day.

"His work is to act as an interpreter for the foreman and run the boarding house or shanty store. . . . Under this system the padrone is in combination with the Italian banker, who furnishes the money to pay for transportation, for the erection of shanties, when they are not provided by the contractor, and to buy provisions. All this money is then deducted from the earnings of the men. The profits derived from the venture are finally shared by the padrone with the banker."¹ This is the situation as the United States Industrial Commission found it in 1901, and it describes the present situation in Massachusetts. Giving the commissary the power to hire and discharge the men has meant abuse of power everywhere. As a result, the workman becomes demoralized and the employer suffers, because men are hired or dismissed not on the basis of their efficiency, but only with regard to how much money they pay the padrone, either indirectly in the purchase of supplies or in weekly or monthly payments.

In its investigation of this construction work the commission found that the men are usually secured through bankers who are not licensed employment agents;² that when they reach the camps they are often shockingly housed; that they are overcharged for the liquor, tobacco, food and clothing sold them; that in some instances they are compelled to purchase liquor as a condition of their employment; and that money payments to the "boss" or padrone are often required.

Complaints of abuses of this sort were received by the commission in regard to two camps near Boston, where Italians who were working for a street railway company were compelled to live. Investigation showed that these camps were in charge

¹ *Report of the U. S. Industrial Commission*, Vol. XV, p. 433.

² See pp. 44, 45.

of two brothers, Italians. To secure work, a \$1.50 ticket had to be purchased by the commission's investigator. On this ticket, which was called an "Italian shanty ticket," was printed the following warning, in Italian and English: "This ticket cash value good only for job. This ticket is not good in exchange for beer or other liquors. This ticket is good for one week only." What this meant could not be learned. In both camps beer and whiskey were purchased with the ticket. It was not accepted in payment for straw or lodging. Whether or not the statement, "This ticket cash value good only for job," when taken in connection with the statement that it "is good for one week only," means a weekly payment of \$1.50 for the job is not clear.

In one of these two camps practically all the men were young, many of them boys under eighteen. The investigator for the commission found that during the game of cards, which the boss insisted on their joining, these boys were all urged to buy whiskey and beer, which was bottled from kegs in the camp.

In this camp the bedding, platforms and floor of the shanty were found to be filthy, even according to camp standards. The windows were boarded up so that the two doors furnished the only possible means for ventilation. According to the padrone 175 men slept in the shanty when the camp was full. In order that he might have the shanty rent, men whose homes were near by, and who demanded that they be allowed to live with their families, were refused employment by the padrone.

When these conditions were called to the attention of the street railway company it reported after its investigation that in the future the power to employ and discharge men would be vested solely in the division road master or his authorized representatives. The rule will also be that men are to be employed in the presence of the timekeepers, who are to keep a record of all men discharged, showing the date of their discharge and the cause. This plan, if followed, should prevent the exploitation, but it leaves the men housed in the same wretched way. On this point the commission is warned that "to clearly understand conditions, the fact that the

shanty is not a humanitarian institution, but that it is run for profit, should be thoroughly appreciated." The shanty is owned and the ground on which it stands is leased by the padrone. That it is run for the profit of the padrone there can be no question. But for the immigrant, for the employer and for the State the tolerance of such conditions is a serious loss.

In a camp at Florida Road, near North Adams, where Italians were working on a State road, conditions were not quite so bad, but the system was the same. The shanty was found to be 72 feet, 10 inches long, $18\frac{1}{3}$ feet wide and $8\frac{1}{4}$ feet high. It had two windows which were 18 inches square. On the two platforms, which were built on each side of the shanty, 150 men slept when "the gang was full," the padrone said, but there were only 82 when the investigator for the commission was there. The Italian padrone acted both as commissary and as employment agent, ordering what men were needed for the work from an Italian banker in Boston who is not a licensed employment agent.

On the Cape Cod Canal, between Bourne and Bournedale, thirty Portuguese and fifteen Italian laborers were found housed in two wretched buildings. They slept on rude platforms on which disgustingly dirty mattresses were laid. The men were compelled to wash in the canal, and the only out-houses were primitive shacks, much neglected. Similar housing was found in other camps.

These shocking camp conditions cannot be ignored as a temporary evil. They have been allowed to demoralize the laborers from year to year. The railroads and canals were built by the immigrants of fifty years ago, and contemporary accounts indicate conditions which were said to "have shocked the sensibilities of the American community."

The sensibilities of the American community have, however, never been sufficiently shocked from that time to the present to make the community really face this problem of seasonal construction work. In every large city in the country the social cost of this failure to control camp conditions can be measured in the unemployable group that lives in the cheap lodging districts. Forced by their occupation to become homeless wanderers, these men have lived as strangers in

any community into which they have gone, with no normal social relationships, badly housed and encouraged to drink. They have spent from six to nine months each year in camps. Local communities have felt no responsibility for the conditions under which they lived while at work, for the camp was "only temporary," and much was excused on this score. In the winter months they returned to the city. Here they have added themselves to already overcrowded lodging houses, and health officers have done nothing because it was only a few months before they would be back on the road. After several seasons these "underemployed" men, because of these conditions, become incapable of self-control, and therefore, diseased and helpless, they constitute the "by-products" of construction work, and are then catalogued as "unemployables."

Into this life we are drawing the recent immigrant who has, when he begins the work, good health and habits of industry.

Seasonal work must be performed, and the State should see that it is performed under conditions which will reduce to a minimum the menace to the health and morals of these men. Camps should be permitted in the State only after the housing and general sanitary arrangements have been approved by the State Board of Health, and frequent inspections should be made to see that the standards adopted are maintained.¹

Section 5. The Housing of Cranberry Pickers.

A special problem as to the proper housing of the seasonal laborers is created when highly specialized forms of agriculture require a large number of workers for a very few weeks or months in the year. In Massachusetts this is strikingly illustrated in the cranberry industry on Cape Cod, which requires several thousand pickers for a few weeks in August and September. A most interesting account of the history of this industry, which has grown enormously in the past thirty years, and of the housing and social conditions of the pickers, is given in the report of the United States Immigration Commission on Seasonal Agricultural Laborers,² prepared

¹ See p. 20.

² *Reports of the U. S. Immigration Commission*, Vol. 22, Pt. VI, ch. VII.

by Prof. Alexander A. Cance of the Massachusetts State Agricultural College.

The first pickers in the Cape Cod district were Americans from the neighborhood. With the increase in acreage, and the unwillingness of Americans to perform this work, immigrants were employed. French Canadians, Italians, Finns and Poles have been used, and a few are still found on the bogs. But the Black Portuguese, or Bravas, who come from the islands of Cape Verde, especially the island of Brava, have a practical monopoly of this kind of work. According to Professor Cance, "beginning late in August, the Portuguese emerge from the mills of New Bedford, from the docks in and about Providence and Fall River, from the oyster boats along the coast, from the ranks of the longshoremen, and here and there from out of the woods and wilds in the vicinity of the cranberry district, and by twos and threes, by gangs, by hundreds, make their way to the fruit-laden bogs of Plymouth, Barnstable, and Nantucket, — the Cape Cod cranberry district."¹

Hundreds of these black laborers, nearly all of whom are illiterate and entirely unskilled, are employed throughout the year, and about 3,000 during the picking season.² Employers agree that they are efficient as pickers and as unskilled laborers, but find few among them who can be used as foremen or for general work about the bogs.³

The picking is done by hand or with what are known as "scoops" or "snappers," which are a kind of small scoop. Women and children do hand picking, and as handling a snapper requires skill rather than strength, the women are employed at this work also.⁴ On some bogs only the men scoopers are allowed, while others swarm with women and children of all ages. In general, however, the picking is done by the Bravas, who are either single men or men who have left their families abroad.

The presence of the women and children, although in relatively small numbers, constitutes the principal difference between the housing problem of these seasonal workers and that of the construction workers. In general, the cranberry pickers are better cared for. Sometimes the men live in

¹ *Reports of the U. S. Immigration Commission*, Vol. 22, Pt. VI, ch. VII, p. 539.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Idem*, p. 547.

⁴ *Idem*, Vol. II., p. 546.



Bunk houses provided for cranberry pickers.



Cranberry pickers on a bog near Wareham.

abandoned houses and sheds near the bogs, in great filth and squalor. On some bogs small two-story houses, usually 10 by 12 feet, are built to accommodate the men or the families. The first floor is used as a kitchen, and the upper floor has bunks built of rough lumber. On other bogs, acting on the theory that anything will do for six weeks, the owners provide shacks of the roughest and crudest sort, and no attention is paid to sanitary arrangements or cleanliness.¹

The effects of these conditions are felt for a much longer time than six weeks, and are not confined to the pickers only, for when they return to town a very large number of other people are exposed to the diseases which come from such conditions. To quote from Professor Cance again, "The moral effect of the miscellaneous housing and unconventional life cannot, to put it mildly, be very satisfactory. School authorities assert that the itinerary breaks in on the school routine with detrimental results educationally. Certain medical and hygienic authorities declare with conviction that the exposure to rain, cold and malarial atmospheres are provocative of fevers and tuberculosis, and that neither the water supply nor the unhygienic surroundings are conducive to physical well-being."²

Adjacent towns and cities cannot be expected to regulate either the housing or the water supply provided for the pickers. Clearly, then, this should be made the function of the State Board of Health. Inspections should be made of housing, water and sanitation in general, before, as well as during, the time that the picking is in progress.

¹ *Reports of the U. S. Immigration Commission*, Vol. 22, p. 551.

² *Idem*, Vol. 22, p. 497.

CHAPTER IV.

THE OCCUPATIONS OF THE RECENT IMMIGRANT.

Section 1. The Immigrant in Industry.

Influencing, and to a very large extent controlling, every social and political aspect of immigration is the economic or industrial condition of the immigrant. On this subject much material was already available in the forty-one volumes of the report of the United States Immigration Commission, in the report of the United States Bureau of Labor on Women and Child Wage Earners, and in other federal and State reports. This material was supplemented by the much more limited investigations of the commission. In the personal history schedules secured from 1,224 recent immigrants the industrial experience, both in Europe and in America, of the head of the household and of the other members of the family was recorded.¹ In addition, a schedule of questions was sent out to a selected list of 2,350 industrial establishments. The replies of 1,217 of these establishments, having 303,826 employees, were sufficiently complete to be valuable, and these were used in the tabulations.² The material obtained from these various sources and from the public hearings, supplemented and interpreted by consultation with trade-union officials, employers and social workers, has formed the basis of this part of the report.

The great industrial development of Massachusetts has been made possible by immigration. This is best illustrated in the racial history of the employees of the textile industry. Prior to 1840 the operatives were drawn from the native Americans who lived on surrounding farms. The expansion at that time, coupled with the emigration to the west of many native Americans, offered opportunities of employment to the large number of Irish who were driven from home by famine. The English came in the largest numbers from 1870 to 1880, while the immigration of the French Canadians, who began coming

¹ See Appendix A for explanation of these schedules.

² See Appendix A for detailed statement regarding the industries to which questions were submitted and from which replies were received.

after the civil war, reached its height about 1885. It is only since 1895 that the present, or newer, immigration has become an important factor in the textile industry of Massachusetts. Because for many generations the women operatives outnumbered the men, the textile industry has been called the women's industry. While this is no longer true, yet the present number of women operatives in Massachusetts is very large. Therefore the racial changes in the textile operatives have meant the immigration of great numbers of young peasant women from Eastern Europe.

Between 1890 and 1900 the employment of the recent immigrants began in the boot and shoe industry, and since that time Southern and Eastern Europeans have been employed in larger numbers, although the increase has been more gradual than in the textile industry.

Some of the most important industrial centers, of which Lawrence is an example, had their beginnings after the coming of the Irish and the English, hence the wage earners of that city have always been largely foreign. Others, like Ludlow, belong to the present period of immigration, and there have been no great racial changes among the employees of the Ludlow Mills.

In manufacturing as a whole, however, the per cent of foreign-born wage earners has steadily increased in Massachusetts since 1840, and of the foreign-born, those from Southern and Eastern Europe have increased from insignificance in 1895 to the important place they now occupy as industrial wage earners.

The increase in the proportion of foreign-born wage earners in the factories of Massachusetts since 1870 is shown in the following table: —

TABLE 7. — *Number of Native and Foreign-born Persons in Massachusetts engaged in Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries, 1870–1905.*¹

CENSUS YEAR.	Total Persons en- gaged in Manufactur- ing and Mechanical Industries.	Number of Native- born.	Number of Foreign- born.	Per Cent of Persons engaged in Manufac- turing and Mechanical Industries who are Foreign-born.
1870,	292,665	197,040	95,625	32.7
1880,	370,265	238,255	132,010	35.7
1890,	475,646	282,030	193,616	40.7
1900,	566,776	312,615	254,161	44.8
1905,	622,481	332,881	289,600	46.6

The change that is indicated by this table is usually referred to as a “racial displacement” of the native American by the Irish and English, and of these in turn by the French Canadian, the Pole, the Italian, the Portuguese and the other nationalities of Southern and Eastern Europe and of Western Asia. While this is in a measure true, it should be remembered that the enormous development of the industries of Massachusetts has required an increasingly large number of employees, as the following table shows:—

TABLE 8. — *Number of Persons employed in all Manufacturing Industries and in Three Selected Industries, Massachusetts, 1885–1911.*²

INDUSTRY.	NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED —			
	1885.	1895.	1905.	1911.
All manufacturing industries, . . .	379,328	382,563	488,399	584,033
Boot and shoe industry, . . .	64,858	58,722	70,148	79,542
Cotton goods,	60,132	83,111	89,118	109,683
Woolen and worsted goods, . . .	26,933	34,381	44,852	49,986

¹ Compiled from *U. S. Ninth Census* (1870), Vol. I, *Population*, p. 739; *Tenth Census* (1880), *Population*, p. 828; *Eleventh Census* (1890), *Population*, pp. 347, 482; *Twelfth Census* (1900), *Special Report on Occupations*, p. 164; and *Census of Massachusetts, 1905*, Vol. II, p. 52.

² Figures for 1885, 1895 and 1905 from *Census of Massachusetts*; for 1911 from *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Statistics of Manufactures*, Bureau of Statistics. Figures for 1885 are for total persons employed June 30, 1885; for 1895, 1905 and 1911 for average number employed.

A very large per cent of the older immigrants, especially those who went into the textile industries, were skilled operatives at the time of their arrival. This has not been true of

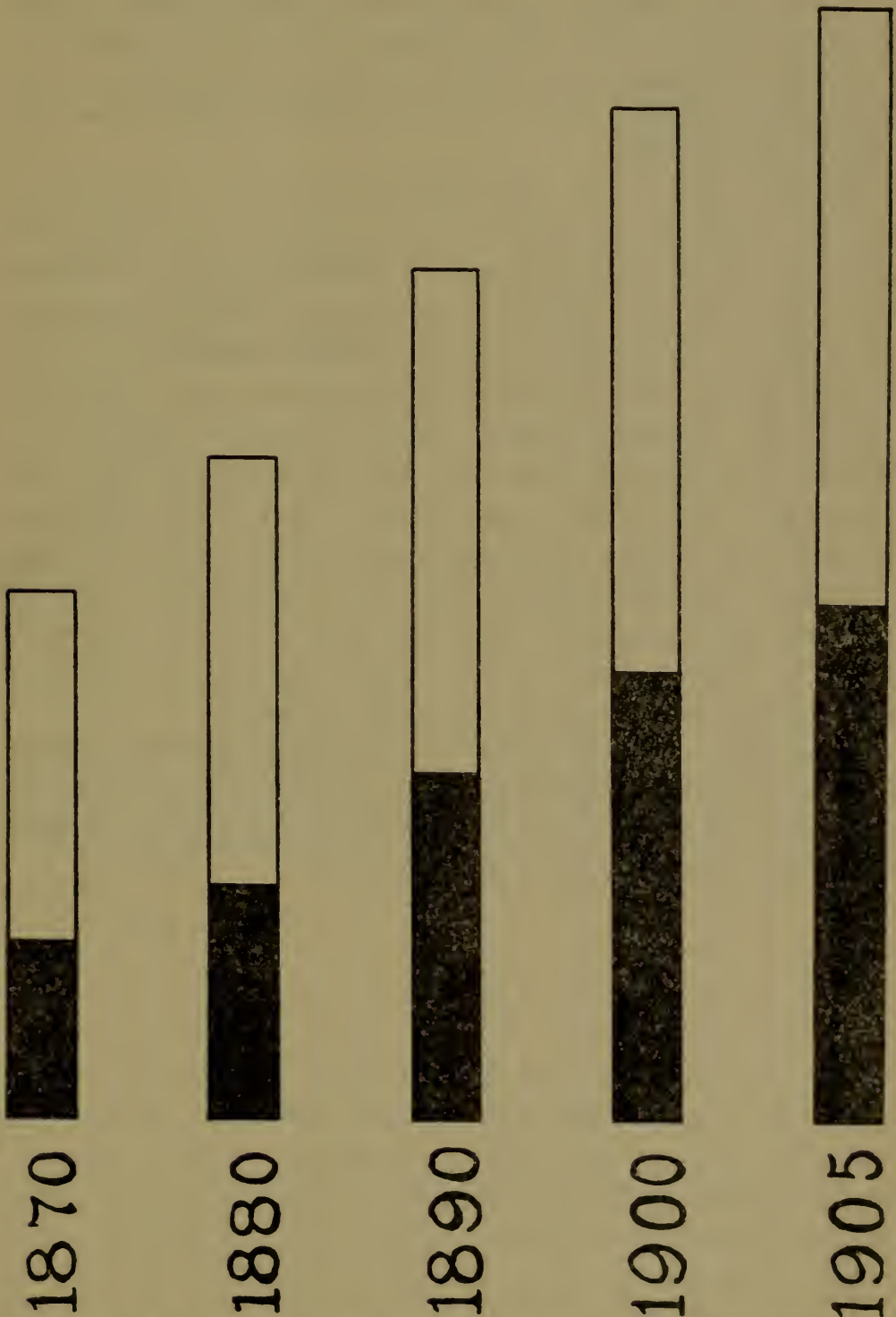


DIAGRAM 4. — Number of native and foreign born persons in Massachusetts engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 1870-1905. Black section indicates persons of foreign birth.

the recent immigrants, and they could not therefore have been utilized in such large numbers had not ring-spinning supplanted mule-spinning, and had not the new machinery supplanted the old, with the resulting subdivision and specialization in all kinds of factory work. This change has made it possible to use the unskilled, non-English speaking immigrant in very much larger numbers than would have been possible under the old industrial system.

Whether, then, the unprecedented expansion of industry, together with the increased use of machinery, has been the cause of the recent immigration to Massachusetts, or whether the presence of the immigrant has made possible the industrial development and required the use of more machinery and the reorganization of the factory system, has been much discussed. It has been generally agreed, however, that the expansion of industry was the first cause, but that, once started, each was both cause and effect in the chain of events that followed. Certainly the output of manufactured articles could not have increased so rapidly without the new immigration. Just as certainly the immigrants would not have come to Massachusetts, or, having come, would not have remained had they been unable to secure employment in the State.

According to replies received by the commission the number of manufacturing establishments that have been employing Southern and Eastern Europeans in increasingly large numbers during the past ten years is as follows: —

TABLE 9. — *Number of Manufacturing Establishments that have employed Southern and Eastern Europeans in Increasingly Large Numbers during the Past Ten Years.*

INDUSTRY.	Number of Factories reporting to the Commission.	Number of Factories reporting Increase in the Employment of Southern and Eastern Europeans.
Boots and shoes,	210	99
Boot and shoe cut stock and findings,	52	15
Rubber boots and shoes,	5	4
Rubber goods (not elsewhere specified),	22	11
Cotton goods,	127	94
Cotton small wares,	12	2
Dyeing and finishing textiles,	36	22
Foundry and machine shops,	316	75
Iron and steel,	5	3
Structural iron work,	19	6
Hosiery and knit goods,	33	10
Jewelry,	91	14
Leather goods,	14	3
Leather, tan, curried and finished,	67	44
Paper and wood pulp,	45	34
Paper goods (not elsewhere specified),	20	8
Suspenders, garters and elastic woven goods,	16	4
Wooden goods (not elsewhere specified),	6	1
Wool scouring,	7	2
Woolen and worsted goods,	114	62
Total,	1,217	513

These figures include many small establishments whose employees are largely American or English-speaking immigrants. When the basis of comparison is the number of wage earners rather than the number of establishments, and a longer period of time is considered, this change is much more marked, as is shown by the following comparison of the different foreign groups at present employed in manufacturing with those so employed in 1890.

TABLE 10. — *Race Distribution by Percentages of Foreign-born Persons engaged in Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries in Massachusetts, 1890 and 1913.*¹

NATIONALITY.	PER CENT OF ALL FOREIGN-BORN.	
	1890.	1913.
Irish,	29.8	12.7
Canadian, French,	20.6	16.7
British,	19.3	11.5
Canadian, English,	16.0	3.3
Scandinavian,	3.7	1.8
Russian, ²	1.0	1.9
Italian,9	7.7
Armenian,	—	1.9
Greek,	—	3.6
Jewish,	—	2.0
Lithuanian,	—	2.3
Polish,	—	13.7
Portuguese,	—	6.9
Syrian,	—	1.2
Others,	8.7	12.8

¹ Per cents for 1890 based on *U. S. Eleventh Census* (1890), *Population*, p. 482, Table 108. Per cents for 1913 based on replies received by the commission from 1,217 industrial establishments employing a total of 179,963 foreign-born persons. These replies were received from establishments in 20 different industries. For number of replies from each industry, etc., see Appendix A.

² Includes all persons born in Russia, such as Finns, Poles, Lithuanians, Russian Jews, etc.

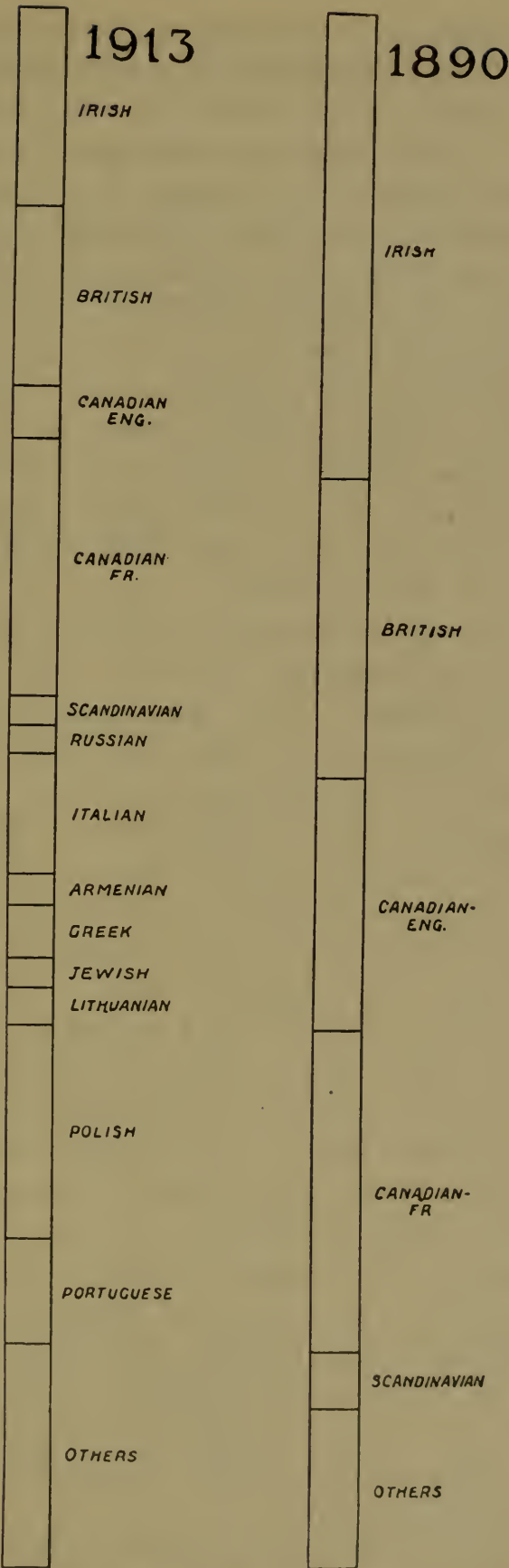


DIAGRAM 5.— Nationality of foreign-born persons engaged in manufacturing in Massachusetts, 1890 and 1913. (For source see note 1, p. 82.)

According to this table the Irish, who constituted 29.8 per cent of all the foreign-born employees in the manufacturing and mechanical industries of Massachusetts in 1890, constitute only 12.7 per cent of the employees in the industries from which the commission received its information; the French Canadians, formerly 20.6 per cent, constitute 16.7; while the British, formerly 19.3 per cent, constitute 11.5 per cent of these foreign-born employees. In 1890 the Poles were so insignificant in number that they were not separately classified; according to the reports received by the commission they constitute to-day a larger per cent of the total foreign-born than the Irish. The Italian element has changed according to the commission's reports from .9 per cent to 7.7 per cent, and the Portuguese from insignificance to 6.9 per cent of the whole number of foreign-born employed in these industries.

This change in the nationalities of the wage earners has not been confined to Massachusetts nor to the area of the Middle States and New England. It has been going on in the middle west and the southwest, in the basic industries of the country and in all kinds of manufacturing and mining, railroad and canal construction and other seasonal work. The situation in Massachusetts is somewhat unique because of the relative importance of certain nationalities in the immigration to this State. The large numbers of French Canadians, of Portuguese in Fall River and New Bedford, of Bravas, or Black Portuguese, on the Cape, and of Greeks in Lowell, together with the fact that a very large proportion of all the Syrian, Armenian and Turkish immigrants to the United States are coming to Massachusetts, make its immigration different racially from that of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois.

Displacement, or the employment of a new race because of business expansion, once begun, increases very rapidly in a locality or industry. This is due to racial prejudices, which make employment in the industry or factory seem less desirable with the change in nationalities. And so, because of the attraction of Pole for Pole and of Greek for Greek, the displacement will probably continue in particular localities as well as in individual factories.

On the question of whether or not the recent immigrant is

found to be less efficient than the immigrants from Northern and Western Europe opinions differ, as the following table shows:—

TABLE 11. — *Opinion of Four Hundred and Eighty-Nine Employers as to the Relative Efficiency of the Southern and Eastern European as compared with the Northern and Western European or the Native-born.*

INDUSTRY.	NUMBER OF EMPLOYERS REPORTING THE SOUTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPEAN —			Total Employers replying to Question.
	More Efficient.	Equally Efficient.	Less Efficient.	
Boots and shoes,	13	20	46	79
Boot and shoe cut stock and findings, .	3	1	8	12
Rubber boots and shoes,	—	2	3	5
Rubber goods (not elsewhere specified),	1	2	8	11
Cotton goods,	4	8	79	91
Cotton small wares,	—	—	4	4
Dyeing and finishing textiles,	1	4	19	24
Foundry and machine shops,	8	12	63	83
Iron and steel,	1	—	1	2
Structural iron works,	1	—	6	7
Hosiery and knit goods,	—	4	6	10
Jewelry,	2	2	11	15
Leather goods,	—	—	1	1
Leather, tan, curried and finished, . .	5	7	32	44
Paper and wood pulp,	1	4	20	25
Paper goods (not elsewhere specified), .	—	2	3	5
Suspenders, garters and elastic woven goods.	—	2	1	3
Wooden goods (not elsewhere specified),	—	—	—	—
Wool scouring,	2	1	4	7
Woolen and worsted goods,	1	15	45	61
Total,	43	86	360	489

According to these figures about two-thirds of their employers find the recent immigrants less efficient than the immigrants from Northern and Western Europe.

The testimony on this point is in some cases apparently an expression of individual preference or prejudice rather than a business judgment on the efficiency of employment. There can be no question, however, but that in the textile industry, where

weaving is the most important and the most skilled work, the Polish and Lithuanian women are being used as weavers in increasingly large numbers.¹

To what extent the reported inefficiency of these employees is due to language and the lack of knowledge of American methods can only be determined by whether or not the employee is working up in the scale of occupations as these difficulties are overcome. The testimony of the employers on this point is given in the following table:—

TABLE 12. — *Opinion of Four Hundred and Eighty-one Employers as to whether Southern and Eastern Europeans are working up in the Scale of Occupations.*

INDUSTRY.	NUMBER OF EMPLOYERS REPORTING SOUTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPEANS —		Total Employers replying to Question.
	Working up in Scale of Occupations.	Not working up in Scale of Occupations.	
Boots and shoes,	73	2	75
Boot and shoe cut stock and findings, . .	13	—	13
Rubber boots and shoes,	3	1	4
Rubber goods (not elsewhere specified), . .	7	5	12
Cotton goods,	76	10	86
Cotton smallwares,	2	—	2
Dyeing and finishing textiles,	12	6	18
Foundry and machine shops,	70	18	88
Iron and steel,	2	—	2
Structural iron works,	3	3	6
Hosiery and knit goods,	8	1	9
Jewelry,	18	1	19
Leather goods,	2	1	3
Leather, tan, curried and finished,	41	4	45
Paper and wood pulp,	14	8	22
Paper goods (not elsewhere specified), . .	5	1	6
Suspenders, garters and elastic woven goods, .	2	—	2
Wooden goods (not elsewhere specified), . .	1	—	1
Wool scouring,	1	5	6
Woolen and worsted goods,	51	11	62
Total,	404	77	481

¹ See registration record of a typical cotton mill, Appendix F.

According to this table 404, or 84 per cent, of their employers report that the recent immigrants are working up in the scale of occupations.

It is often said that the last new immigrant race, from the time of the Irish and English to that of the Greek and Lithuanian, has been preferred by employers because its members are willing to work for lower wages, and that they have been willing to do this because the standard of living has in the case of each group been lower than that of the supplanted nationality. The United States Immigration Commission makes the following comment in this connection: —

As a matter of fact, it has not appeared in the case of the industries covered by the present investigation that it was usual for employers to engage recent immigrants at wages actually lower than those prevailing at the time of their employment in the industry where they were employed.¹

In other words, a Pole and an American doing the same kind of work are paid on the same basis. What the wages of the workers in the textile mills, the boot and shoe and other factories, in construction work and all the other occupations of the State would have been if the Irish, English, French Canadian, South Italian, Pole, Portuguese and others had not, in turn, "displaced" those who came before them is only a matter of conjecture.

It is equally impossible to answer satisfactorily the question whether or not, if the American, Irish and English constituted to-day practically all the industrial workers of the State, and if the wages paid them for the same kind of work that they did a generation or two ago had steadily increased, they would be better off than they are at present or as well off. In other words, have the great expansion of the old and the development of the new industries, for which immigrant labor has been necessary, resulted in an increase of well-paid positions in which the English-speaking races have found employment, or have the American and older immigrant races suffered in the displacement?

Individual instances in which both of these results have happened are found. But whether the changed condition has

¹ *Reports of the U. S. Commission on Immigration*, Vol. 1, p. 494.

meant a general loss or a general gain cannot be statistically proven. It is certainly true that the native Americans and the older immigrants are found in larger numbers in the better-paid industries, and in the best-paid positions in those industries. The newer immigrant, whatever his skill, practically always begins at the poorest-paid and ugliest part of the work in any industry. The wages that the newly arrived immigrant receives are often insufficient for the proper support of his family when employment is regular. In many industries his nominal wage is much reduced by long periods of complete illness or slack work.¹ This has meant that many of the mothers are compelled to supplement the inadequate earnings of their husbands by factory work or by taking lodgers.

So far as the lower standard of living of the immigrant is responsible for his low wage, it should be remembered that this is very largely within the control of the local community. For example, in the failure to require decent living conditions by the enforcement of housing regulations, the communities of the Commonwealth have accepted the excuse of the poorly paid wage earner that he cannot afford to live better on what he receives and of the employer that he cannot afford to pay more. By this negative policy, we have, in effect, said that the development of industry is more important than the living conditions of the people. In other words, no blame can be placed on the employer or the immigrant for which the community is not finally responsible. For had not the majority of the people of Massachusetts acted on the principle that the maintenance of the industrial leadership of the Commonwealth was the most important consideration, her history might have been quite different.

It is probably also true that, while not expressed or even consciously accepted, the general attitude throughout the United States in law making and in law enforcing has been that if the immigrant were the one concerned there was less necessity for action. It was to have been expected that the United States, being a republic, would lead the world, in legislative provision for the social and industrial welfare of its working people.

¹ See Appendix A, "Wages paid recent immigrants according to the testimony of the immigrants."



One of the most congested districts in Massachusetts. (*From The Lawrence Survey, page 55.*)

That this has not been true, and that instead we are to-day looking to England and Germany for guidance along these lines, is largely due, it is believed, to the fact that in every generation the poorest paid and least skilled have been recent immigrants whose needs and sufferings have been unknown, and therefore unappreciated, by those in positions of authority. As a result, the removal of the evils of bad housing, insanitary working conditions, unprotected machinery, long hours, irregular employment and low wages, in so far as they are controlled by public opinion or legislation, has been much delayed. To have met properly the problem of the relation of the immigrant to our industries, an exactly contrary policy should have been pursued. The unskilled are always the weakest industrially, and therefore the least able to protect themselves, and for this reason they are the most in need of all the safeguards that the State can furnish. When to the handicap of the unskilled is added ignorance of the English language and of American methods, the need for social legislation is enormously increased.

So far as the immigrant is concerned, therefore, the most careful enforcement of existing laws is necessary. For such enforcement of the factory legislation inspectors who can speak the language of the immigrant are needed. In future legislation it should be remembered that because of the larger number of recently arrived immigrant wage earners, who are so peculiarly weak in their control of the conditions under which they live and work, it is very important that legislation along the lines of social and industrial improvement should be enacted. Delay in the past has been due largely to failure to appreciate this need. It has also been due to the difficulty that one State experiences in adopting or enforcing standards superior to those of other States. Massachusetts has suffered from the lack of uniformity in industrial legislation, but it has not deterred her in the past, and must not deter her in the future, from advancing the standards of industrial requirements. This is, however, not a field for recommendations by this commission, although, as has been shown, the presence of the immigrant in the industries of Massachusetts is one of the principal arguments for industrial protection.

Section 2. The Immigrant in Agriculture.

In recent years there has been an enthusiastic insistence on the beauties of farm life. Curiously enough these beauties were generally discovered at the time that the American farm boys and girls and the immigrants, who were usually European farm boys and girls, were hurrying to the city and the industrial town.¹ The sentimental inaccuracies at first indulged in have now been abandoned, and it is generally recognized that many native Americans and some immigrants who prefer farming as an occupation find that the disadvantages of farm life far outweigh the advantages. Those who are really interested in the future of agriculture in America are therefore hard at work on a constructive program for the removal of those disadvantages.

There are, on the other hand, some native Americans and many more immigrants in the cities and industrial centers who feel that even as at present organized, the advantages that rural life offers are much greater than the disadvantages; and they would therefore welcome the opportunity to become farmers. It is only these who can be considered in any immediate scheme for successful distribution. In so far as such a scheme is dependent upon the development of some system of rural credits or upon extensive organization for marketing crops, or upon provision for social life, all of which are regarded as highly desirable by the commission, it is not especially an immigrant problem. What might be done along this line for both the immigrant and the native-born is being made the subject of careful consideration by the Homestead Commission.

In so far as the immigrant might, with some thoughtful direction, undertake farming at once, the question is whether or not he can do the patient and yet intelligent work that is necessary to bring back into profitable cultivation the neglected and undercultivated farms of Massachusetts, and, if so, how the necessary guidance can be given that will make it possible for him to undertake farming with greater chances of success.

¹ In 1870 (*U. S. Ninth Census, Population*, p. 675, Table XXVII), 12.6 per cent of the total population of Massachusetts were engaged in agriculture; in 1900 (*Twelfth Census, Population*, Pt. II, p. cxxxv, Table LXXVII) only 5.5 per cent were so engaged. Of the foreign-born population in 1870 (*Ninth Census, Population*, pp. 698, 699, Table XXVIII), 5.9 per cent were engaged in agriculture; in 1900 (*Twelfth Census, Occupations*, pp. 154, 156, Table 34), 4.1 per cent.

THE RECENT IMMIGRANT AND AGRICULTURE.

Of the immigrants who came to Massachusetts in the year ended June 30, 1912, 27.6 per cent were farm laborers at home.¹ In certain nationalities the per cent was much higher. For example, 55 per cent of the Lithuanians, 50 per cent of the Poles and 38 per cent of the Italians were farm laborers before they emigrated. Although less than 1 per cent of each of these were farm owners, this does not mean that all the others belonged to the "landless" peasant class at home. Many of them worked on their fathers' farms and at his death would inherit their share of his small holding.

When the immigrants first come they are without the capital necessary for independent farming. Moreover, many of them, especially those who have lived under the landlord system of southern Italy and Russia, believe that the farm means poverty and suffering, and that a weekly wage in the city or town is the road to the things they hope America is to give them. Many find this to be the case.

Many others, however, are mistaken. They find factory work an unhappy and unhealthy substitute for farm work, and the weekly wage not possessed of the purchasing power they imagined. These look forward to a return to the land and begin to accumulate their savings toward that end. But whatever their knowledge of agriculture, they are helpless in the immigrant stage. To make a successful beginning as farmers in America they must first serve an apprenticeship as farm laborers, or they must be given disinterested advice and guidance as to the first steps which they must take.

THE IMMIGRANT AS A FARM LABORER.

The farmers of Massachusetts already rely on the Pole, the Portuguese, the Italian, the Finn, and in some sections on the Greek and the Armenian, for extra labor during the harvest season as well as for all-the-year-round helpers.

Great difficulty is often experienced by the farmers in securing the number of laborers needed. This would not seem to square with the statement that there are many immigrants in

¹ *Annual report of the U. S. Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1912, pp. 106, 107.*

factories who are eager to get on the farm. But there are several reasons for this apparent contradiction.

For one thing, the wages are in many instances not high enough to offer sufficient inducement to counterbalance the long-hour day and the short period of employment. More important still, the demand and supply for this class of labor have never been in any sense organized.

The farmer who employs two or three men cannot profitably study the labor market; and the immigrant who wants to try farming in America has no way of connecting with the farmer except through the private labor agency or the State free employment offices.

The impossibility of relying on the private agency for desirable distribution has already been explained. As for the State's help in the past in this connection, all the free employment agencies, and especially the one at Springfield, place farm laborers, but there has been no general study of how this could be most intelligently done. Until serious public attention is given this matter, and a larger appropriation makes a more extensive organization possible, the present system or lack of system must continue.¹

That directing the immigrant to the farm as a farm laborer would be desirable, both for the State and the immigrant, the prosperity of the colony of Poles in the Connecticut valley demonstrates.

In its investigation of the "Recent Immigrants in Agriculture,"² the United States Immigration Commission studied the Russian Jewish Colony at Holliston, Mass., the Polish Colony at Sunderland, and, of the "Seasonal Agricultural Laborers," the Bravas, or Black Portuguese cranberry pickers on Cape Cod. The investigation was made under the direction of Alexander A. Cance of the agricultural survey department of the Massachusetts State Agricultural College.

Of these three colonies the most important, agriculturally, is the Polish settlement at Sunderland, which is representative of what the Poles are doing in South Deerfield, Deerfield, Hatfield, Hadley, North Amherst and throughout the Connecticut valley.³

¹ See ch. II, secs. 1, 2, Private and State employment agencies.

² *Reports of the U. S. Immigration Commission*, Vol. 22.

³ Among these are some Slovaks and Lithuanians, but as the Poles predominate they are all known as Poles throughout the valley.

This settlement began in the early 80's when, because of the shortage of farm labor, two men in Sunderland went to New York and persuaded some Poles who were just landing to return with them to the tobacco fields of western Massachusetts. These early employment agents collected the first month's wages as their fee, and found it a profitable enterprise.

After a few years relatives and friends came to join the earlier comers, and the profits of the labor brokers fell off. Since then, "every year a few men have come over from Europe to supply the growing demand for the farm labor necessary to handle the tobacco and onion crops successfully."¹

As for their previous occupations, "In the case of the 31 Lithuanian males [from whom information was obtained], 12 were working for wages as farm laborers, 10 were on their fathers' farms, 3 were farmers, 2 were without occupation and 1 each were engaged in the following occupations: tailor, blacksmith, stone mason and post-office employee. Of the 41 Polish men, 28 were working on their fathers' farms, 4 were farm laborers, 3 were farmers, 2 were without occupation and 1 each were engaged in the following occupations: liquor dealer, soldier, spinner and carpenter."²

Beginning as farmhands they became renters, and are now owners of a very large part of the land in that section. Of the effect of their settlement on the community, the United States Immigration Commission says:—

The economic effect of immigration upon this community is very noticeable. In many cases where the immigrant has bought a farm he has increased the number of acres cultivated. According to the neighboring natives the "Polander" who bought a farm with none of the land in tillage has cleared wood lots and cultivated pastures that had never been broken up, making the community more prosperous and the farms more valuable. . . . Investigation confirms the popular opinion that the foreigners in the [Connecticut] valley, whether engaged in tobacco raising, onion growing or trucking, are prosperous and progressive. The old New England farmers no longer laugh at the farm practices of the newcomers; many of them unwillingly admit that there is little in farm methods that they can teach the "Polanders."³

The social adjustments have not been so simply made. The conservative New England farmer, while unable to resist the

¹ *Reports of the U. S. Immigration Commission*, Vol. 22, p. 313.

² *Idem*, p. 297.

³ *Idem*, pp. 320, 321.

high prices offered him for his land, and while admitting the industry, success and general morality of the newcomers, has resented their presence. The Sunday entertainments and dancing, so frequently complained of, are only a few of the many differences in tradition and custom which make social friction inevitable. All agree, however, that these difficulties are not encountered among the children, and that at school there is little of the feeling of unlikeness in the two groups which has made social intercourse between their parents difficult.

This settlement can therefore be looked upon as successful. The immigrants have become permanent settlers, owners of property and contributors to the development of agriculture in that section.

There are in Massachusetts many other smaller settlements of immigrant farmers who represent the so-called newer immigration. Among others, the Portuguese on Cape Cod, the Italians near Concord and Sudbury, and the Russians near Wrentham, have succeeded in getting upon farms and keeping up their payments.

In 1910, according to the United States Census, there were 8,362 foreign-born owners of farms in Massachusetts. "Those born in Canada numbered 2,277; Ireland, 1,522; England, 994; Germany, 598; and Sweden, 520. Austria, France, Italy, Poland, Russia and Scotland each had between 100 and 500 representatives, while Bohemia, Denmark, Holland, Hungary, Norway, Switzerland and Wales each had less than 100."¹

Of those from Southern and Eastern Europe, many, like the Poles, began as farmhands; others saved enough to enable them to make their first payment on the land and purchase their seed and a few inexpensive implements before they left the factory in which they were employed. Others have combined working in the factory with farming, until the latter was on such a basis as to make it safe for them to give their entire attention to agriculture.

Because this movement from the town to the land is going on, some argue that the problem of establishing on the farm the immigrant who wants to be there, and is qualified to make a success of it, is solving itself. This is, of course, an entirely

¹ *U. S. Thirteenth Census (1910), Abstract with Supplement for Massachusetts*, p. 619.

unjustifiable conclusion, since it takes account only of those who succeed and not of the many more who fail unnecessarily.

Many people feel that the immigrant is, at any rate, not different from the American who sees in farm life his only hope for real independence, but who has no idea how he may accomplish his ambition. In many ways this is true, and in so far as it is so the American and the immigrant should be considered together. But for the immigrant who has been here a very short time a different kind of guidance is often needed from that which must be given the American. He may have done more farm work, but he is much more ignorant of American conditions and general land values than even the city-bred American. The immigrant is, moreover, being constantly told by foreign bankers that the purchase of land in Europe is the only way by which a successful return to the land is possible.

In securing the personal history schedules of immigrants, the investigators of the commission came across cases of this sort. For example, a Ruthenian, now thirty years old, who was a farmer in Europe, came to this country. He and his wife, whom he married a few years ago, are both working in a cotton factory, and are buoyed up by the hope that they will be able to save enough money to go back to Galicia and live on a farm. There he will probably pay from \$250 to \$450 an acre for land which has been worked for many generations. The possibility of independence on a farm in Massachusetts is therefore much greater than in Galicia. But he knows nothing of farm opportunities in Massachusetts.

Unscrupulous land agents canvass the immigrant colonies, telling in glowing terms of the amount that can be realized on farms in Florida, Texas, Colorado or some other far-away place. The immigrant's ignorance of the geography of the United States, and of the social and economic conditions in the various States, makes it impossible for him to judge of the truth of their statements. As a result, men who have been eagerly saving little by little in the hope of getting out of the mill are compelled to "give it up," and their failure convinces their friends that for a successful experiment along this line they must return to Europe.

During the few months that the commission has been at work it has received letters from many immigrants in Massachusetts and in other States, asking how they can recover money lost in this way, or where they can find out what the land on which they had been making payments for several years is worth.

The Division of Information of the United States Bureau of Immigration should furnish reliable information as to farm opportunities in the country generally, and it has published a series of bulletins on this subject; but when unsupplemented by oral explanation, these are too general. Moreover, they have not, as yet, been translated into the various languages, and no adequate plan has been adopted for their distribution.

However, it is probably true that settlement in Massachusetts, where their relatives and friends live and where their first experience has been gained, offers the greatest possibility of success for these people. And the agricultural development of Massachusetts requires their labor. Much of the uncultivated land of the eastern part of the State could produce grapes under the painstaking cultivation of the Italian as profitably as the lands in the west of the State have produced tobacco and onions when owned by the Polish farmers. But it is practically impossible for the immigrant to obtain reliable information concerning farm lands in Massachusetts.

As a first step in the protection of the native or immigrant city worker who contemplates farming as his future occupation, the Commonwealth should undertake a scientific "exploration" of the farm lands of the State. If the information thus secured were made available to the prospective purchaser, the American would be able to protect himself against many of the frauds from which he now suffers.

For the immigrant, something more is necessary. The information made available by such an exploration must be passed on to him by some one who speaks his language, and with whom he comes in contact in other ways; some one who can tell him in terms of his own experience the information which the State has secured about the particular piece of land he is considering purchasing, and what the usual price of land in that vicinity is; some one who will explain to him the neces-

sity of having his title to the property examined, and will go over with him the provisions of the contract that he is asked to sign, explaining the method of payment and such reservations as it may contain.

All of this could be done with very little expense and great value to the State by a specially qualified person under the State Board of Immigration, which this commission believes should be established.¹ Before the immigrant had settled on his land the co-operation of the Extension Department of the State Agricultural College could be secured by such a Board, and so when he began the chances of success would be all in his favor instead of against him as at present.

Section 3. The Immigrant in Business.

That exceptional ability has enabled a few immigrants of every nationality to become distinguished in business or professional life in an incredibly short time is a matter of common knowledge. It is, however, not so well known that a very large number of recent immigrants are in business in a small way for themselves. The census figures show that since 1870 the per cent of the foreign-born engaged in trade and transportation has steadily increased.² The latest figures available are for 1905.³ At that time, 90,001, or 16.6 per cent of all the foreign-born persons in Massachusetts in gainful occupations, were engaged in trade and transportation, and the foreign-born comprised 27.1 per cent of the total number of persons so engaged. Although, of course, a very large per cent of those 90,001 persons were employed in trade and transportation, and were not carrying on business for themselves, nevertheless, it is true that many thousand recent immigrants are successfully conducting small stores, shops and independent businesses.

The great preference of the Greek, the Syrian, the Armenian and the Russian Jew for trading proves sometimes a disadvantage. It is said that among these and among the Italians the proportion of the persons who engage in business is three or four times greater than among other nationalities.⁴ The clothing stores of the Russian Jews, the candy stores of the Greeks, the fruit stores of both the Greeks and the Italians,

¹ See p. 215.

² See Appendix E.

³ *Census of Massachusetts, 1905.* (See Appendix E.)

⁴ Roberts, Peter, *The New Immigration*, p. 103.

and the Oriental shops of the Asiatics have often a large native American as well as immigrant patronage. Among other nationalities the stores are usually patronized only by their own people.

In most cases the immigrant must accumulate, after his arrival in the United States, the little capital with which to launch a business enterprise. Frequently the wife joins her husband in the factory, so that the savings may accumulate more rapidly and the grocery or confectionery store may the sooner be opened.

Examples of success and failure in business are easy to find. Dr. Peter Roberts tells of a Russian in Lowell who began work in a shoe factory at \$6 a week, and in five years was successfully conducting a bakery of his own.¹ In its investigations the commission found many such cases. A Greek, for example, came to this country "to make money," hoping at some time to be able to return to his own country. He found employment after a few days in a hosiery mill, where he worked at "boarding," earning from \$10 to \$11 a week. After four years he left the mill and invested all his savings in a stock of groceries. He has prospered; and although he has made one visit to Greece he calls Massachusetts his home.

A Russian Jew came to the United States to avoid army service. He was a woodsman in Russia, but as soon as he came to this country his friends started him off as a dry-goods jobber. After six months of this he found he could not earn a living and became a junk peddler. In a little more than four years he started a junk store of his own. He is doing well, has money in the bank, has brought his family to America and has sent home some money every year.

The business failures are perhaps even more common. The pathetic struggles of Mary Antin's father to establish himself in business upon his arrival in this country are typical of the experiences of many immigrants.² When his family joined him in Boston he had already spent three years in making a number of false starts in business. His next enterprise was a restaurant booth at Crescent Beach; when this failed he opened a basement grocery store in Chelsea; and when this too failed

¹ Roberts, Peter, *The New Immigration*, p. 104.

² Antin, Mary, *The Promised Land*, ch. 9.

he moved the family to the South End of Boston, where he opened another basement grocery store.

The business daring which tempts the immigrant to risk all his savings in some business enterprise means pathetic failures as well as successes. In the course of its investigation the commission found a young Armenian who began when fifteen years old in a factory which manufactures cotton machinery. After five years he had saved enough money to pay back the sum he had borrowed for his passage and to buy a fruit store. He ran the store for three months, lost the \$450 which he had saved, and has now gone back to the factory. He is working at his old job, at his old wages of \$8.55 a week, and is looking forward to the time when he can again go into business for himself.

A Greek boy who had been a vineyard laborer in his own country came to the United States when he was nineteen years of age. After a few days spent in search of work he secured a place in the dye-house of a hosiery mill. Here he worked five years, making from \$8 to \$9 a week at piecework. Finally, he took the money which he had been able to save and bought a confectionery store in one of the summer resort towns of New Hampshire. Eventually he failed, went back to the mill where he had originally been employed, and has been working there since, earning from \$10 to \$12 a week.

Failure in retail business is, however, the common story among Americans as well as among immigrants. The fact that the immigrant, peculiarly handicapped by his ignorance of the language and of American customs, succeeds in so many instances is more remarkable than that he shares in the failures of the ordinary beginners in business. In his business undertakings, therefore, the immigrant presents no special problem, nor one, in the absence of fraud, with which the State, as such, is concerned.

CHAPTER V.

THE IMMIGRANT AND THE PUBLIC MORALS.**Section 1. The Criminal Record of the Immigrant.**

Has the immigrant increased the volume of crime in the country, and if so, what races are responsible for the increase, are the first questions that are asked in this connection. The United States Immigration Commission, after a very careful study of the penal records of Massachusetts and of New York City and State, of the police statistics of Chicago, and of the United States Census reports, concluded that:—

No satisfactory evidence has yet been produced to show that immigration has resulted in an increase in crime disproportionate to the increase in the adult population. Such comparable statistics of crime and population as it has been possible to obtain indicate that immigrants are less prone to commit crime than are native Americans.

The statistics do indicate, however, that the American-born children of immigrants exceed the children of natives in relative amount of crime.¹

It was found, however, that while immigration had not increased the volume, it had changed the character of crime; that, for example, it has relatively increased crimes of personal violence, such as homicide, assault, abduction and rape, and what are known as offenses against public policy, *i.e.*, disorderly conduct, drunkenness, vagrancy, the violation of city ordinances and other offenses incident to city life.² On the other hand, gainful offenses, are less frequently committed by the immigrant than by the native American. These generalizations, based upon figures gathered from the country as a whole, are often much affected by local conditions, but they apply in a general way to Massachusetts.

The twelfth annual report of the Board of Prison Commissioners of Massachusetts (1912) shows the prisoners of the State to have been divided among the native and foreign born as follows:—

¹ *Reports of the U. S. Immigration Commission*, Vol. 36, p. 1.

² *Idem*, p. 2.

TABLE 13. — *General Nativity of Persons committed to Penal Institutions in Massachusetts in 1912, and Per Cent Distribution by General Nativity of the Total Population in 1910.*¹

	PERSONS COMMITTED.		Per Cent of Total Population, 1910.
	Number.	Per Cent.	
Total native-born,	15,133	55.1	68.5
Total foreign-born,	12,310	44.9	31.5
Foreign-born from English-speaking countries,	9,493	34.6	15.1
Foreign-born from non-English speaking countries,	2,817	10.3	16.4
Total,	27,443 ²	100.0	100.0

These figures show a disproportionate amount of crime among the foreign-born, for although they constitute only 31.5 per cent of the total population, they furnish 44.9 per cent of the prison population. Of these foreign-born offenders, the number of those who come from English-speaking countries is disproportionately large, as they constitute 34.6 per cent of all those committed to penal institutions, and only 15.1 per cent of the total population, while those who come from non-English speaking countries constitute only 10.3 per cent of those committed and 16.4 per cent of the total population. These figures are open to the criticism that comparison should be made on the basis not of the total population, but of the male population fifteen years of age and over, inasmuch as the proportion of women and children, who furnish a small per cent of the prison population of any nationality, is so much smaller among the recent immigrants. On this basis the foreign-born make a better showing, for they constitute 42.8 per cent of the male population fifteen years of age and over, as compared with 31.5 per cent of the total population. Unfortunately, the figures are not available for the various nationalities among the foreign-born. That they would show a further reduction of the already disproportionately small number of offenders among immigrants from non-English speaking countries is obvious.³

¹ Compiled from the *Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Prison Commissioners*, 1912, and the *U. S. Twelfth Census* (1910), Abstract, p. 86.

² Nativity of 11 persons unknown.

³ In 1912 (*Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration*, p. 116), 64.7 per cent of the non-English speaking immigrants to the United States were men, while of the English-speaking immigrants only 52.9 per cent were men.

This unavoidable error in calculation, due to the absence of statistics as to age and sex, should also be borne in mind in connection with the following table, which shows the nativity of the foreign-born committed to penal institutions in Massachusetts, together with the percentage of nativity of the total foreign-born.

TABLE 14. — *Foreign-born Persons committed to Penal Institutions in Massachusetts in 1912, by Country of Birth; and Per Cent Distribution of the Total Foreign-born Population in 1910 by Country of Birth.*¹

COUNTRY OF BIRTH.	FOREIGN-BORN PERSONS COMMITTED.		Per Cent Distribution of Foreign-born Population by Country of Birth.
	Number.	Per Cent.	
Total foreign-born from English-speaking countries, .	9,493	77.1	60.7
Canada, ²	2,659	21.6	28.1
England, Scotland and Wales,	1,406	11.4	11.6
Ireland,	5,428	44.1	21.0
Total foreign-born from non-English speaking countries,	2,817	22.9	39.3
Austria-Hungary,	314	2.6	3.5
Finland,	196	1.6	1.0
France,	41	.3	.6
Germany,	142	1.2	2.9
Greece,	85	.7	1.1
Italy,	521	4.2	8.0
Norway, Sweden and Denmark,	369	3.0	4.6
Poland,	91	.7	-
Portugal,	32	.3	2.5
Russia,	739	6.0	11.1
Turkey,	74	.6	1.5
Other countries,	213	1.7	2.5
Grand total,	12,310	100.0	100.0

According to this table the immigrants who come from non-English speaking countries constitute 39.3 per cent of the foreign-born population of the State, and only 22.9 per cent of the foreign-born inmates of its penal institutions.

¹ Compiled from the *Annual Report of the Board of Prison Commissioners of Massachusetts*, 1912, p. 88, and the *U. S. Twelfth Census (1910) Abstract*, p. 204.

² No distinction is made between Canada English and Canada French.

Whether this correctly represents the relative criminality of these groups it is difficult to say. It is probably true that better regulation of immigration is resulting in the exclusion of more undesirables than was formerly possible, so that there should be less crime in the new than there was in the old immigration. Among all nationalities the criminal statistics include only those offenders whose crimes are discovered and punished. It is sometimes contended that the Italian, Polish, Greek or Syrian offenders are not so surely brought to punishment as the American or English-speaking immigrant. Representatives of the foreign colonies complained to the commission that serious crime in their midst sometimes went unpunished because of police indifference, while arrests and convictions for disorderly conduct were unnecessarily frequent. Police officials said, what is also probably true, that immigrant offenders are harder to apprehend because of a racial solidarity that makes it impossible for an outsider to secure information against an offender. It is probably true, also, that judicial errors which result in the punishment of the innocent or the release of the guilty are much more apt to occur, as will be shown later, when the defendant is unable to speak English.

So far as immigrant crime is concerned, the important question is whether we are taking the same precautions for its prevention as among the native-born and, if we are, whether new or different measures are necessary; for statistics showing the volume of crime are of little importance except as they are studied in connection with the character of the offenses committed, in order to determine what preventive measures may be adopted. Unfortunately such a study is impossible because the annual reports of the Prison Commissioners do not show the character of offenses by nationality or country of birth, and so recent figures are not available. From the original records of the penal institutions of Massachusetts,¹ the United States Immigration Commission tabulated the offenses and the nativity of all those who were committed during the year ending October 1, 1909. This tabulation shows, among other things, that in Massachusetts the proportion of commitments for

¹ These are very unsatisfactory because the race of the offender is not recorded. It is therefore impossible to determine whether the Austro-Hungarian, for example, is a German, a Croatian, Maagyar, a Slovak, a Bohemian or one of the other races of those countries.

the crimes of larceny and receiving stolen property was greater among the native-born of native father than among any other group; that for crimes of personal violence the proportion of commitments was greater among the Italian, the Austro-Hungarian, the Polish, the Russian, the German and the Finnish groups than among the native Americans of native fathers. More than half of all the commitments that year were for drunkenness. But among the Italian, the Austro-Hungarian, the German and the Russian less than 50 per cent were for this offense. Among the Italians the percentage was the lowest, 13.6 per cent. At the other extreme were the Irish with 82.4 per cent, the Swedish with 75.1 per cent and the Scotch with 74.3 per cent. In the case of the native-born of native fathers 53.5 per cent of all commitments were due to drunkenness.¹ In offenses against chastity the order was as follows: the Italians showed the highest per cent of commitments, the Canadians the next highest, native-born of native father third, while at the bottom of the list were the Austro-Hungarians fifteenth, the Irish sixteenth and the Finns seventeenth.²

Before a program for the prevention of crime in the different national groups can be developed it is obviously necessary to know their social, environmental and psychological characteristics. It is undoubtedly true, for example, that in so far as a lack of proper recreation and provisions for social intercourse tends to result in immorality among young men and women of all nationalities, it is especially serious in the case of the non-family groups of young foreign men and the young immigrant women whose needs the American community has much greater difficulty in understanding.³ The lack of proper social life, together with the absence of the old forms of social control, is undoubtedly responsible for much of the very serious and often unnatural moral delinquency which is found in non-family groups of single men. These offenses are registered in the hospital instead of in the police records of the State, but as such disease results from acts which by the law are called crimes, prevention is a social and not a medical problem.

¹ *Reports of the U. S. Immigration Commission*, Vol. 36, p. 172.

² *Idem*, p. 178.

³ See ch. III, pp. 59-69 of this report.



Rear view of a typical three decker.

Many of the immigrant offenses are chargeable to ignorance of the law; for example, peddling without a license, violation of the laws regulating the observance of Sunday and many of the health ordinances. While it is important that the last should be rigidly enforced, instruction in hygiene and sanitation, coupled with enforcement of the health ordinances, is the only intelligent method of meeting this difficulty, and yet it was found that such education for the newly arrived immigrant had not been considered necessary by most of the boards of health in the State. The commission therefore recommends that the State Board of Health prepare and furnish to local boards leaflets and illustrated lectures in the various foreign languages for the education, along this line, of the non-English speaking people of Massachusetts.

Often an objectionable habit or custom which the immigrant brings with him is allowed to become much more serious here, because of American indifference or lack of understanding. For example, police officers agree that the "Poles would not give us any trouble if it weren't for their weddings." These celebrations often last several days, and drunkenness, disorder and sometimes serious crimes are the result. Because the drinks are stronger and the groups are more largely made up of young people, the evil effects in America are greater than in Europe. Where regulation has been attempted it has at once reduced the excess which led to disorder and crime, and it is believed that co-operation between the church and the civil authority could greatly change the character of these celebrations.

More has been said about Italian crime than about that of any other nationality, but there has been little if any discussion of prevention. In this connection it is encouraging to find that so-called "Black Hand" crimes are practically unknown in Massachusetts. As a very large proportion of the Italian population in this and other States come from southern Italy and Sicily, the absence of these crimes would seem to bear out the contention of many Italians that local American conditions are responsible for these criminal organizations elsewhere. Police corruption, which takes the form of protection of criminals, enables an Italian, sometimes a criminal of other

nationalities, to develop unmolested in an Italian colony the Black Hand system of blackmail.

While Black Hand crimes are almost unknown in Massachusetts, here, as everywhere, the Italian commits crimes of violence that are not premeditated, but are the result of passion. The carrying of dangerous weapons has been prohibited for many years, but the loose way in which they are sold makes that prohibition impossible of enforcement.

The present law should, therefore, be amended so that firearms and other dangerous weapons could be sold only upon the presentation of a permit from the police authorities of a city or the selectmen of a town, testifying to the fact that the person who attempts to make such purchase has been duly authorized. Persons engaged in the sale of these weapons should be required to keep these permits, together with the date of sale and the weapons purchased, on file in their places of business, and should be required to notify the police of the number of the permit and the kind of weapons purchased.

On February 3, 1914, the commission, through one of its members, appeared before the committee on legal affairs in support of the bills embodying these resolutions which were then being considered by that committee. Some such measure, it is believed, would long ago have been adopted except for the activity of those who are commercially interested in the sale of such weapons. Certainly for the prevention of crimes of violence legislation along this line is absolutely necessary, and the commission strongly urges the adoption of one of the measures now under consideration.

A longer discussion of the immigrant and crime would only reinforce what has been said many times in this report in other connections. Applied here it would be that unless the temperament, customs, ignorance of American laws and the language differences of the various groups are carefully considered in any program for the reduction of crime it will fail to accomplish what otherwise might be accomplished in preventing crime among immigrants.

There is, however, one aspect of the subject which deserves special consideration. In so far as a failure to take account of these differences results in two standards in the enforcement of

the law on the part of the police, or in the application of the law on the part of the court, the effects cannot be measured in criminal statistics, for the attitude of the whole colony toward American law and institutions is affected. That this double standard, one American and the other immigrant, does often exist is undoubtedly true. That it is due not to intent but to careless indifference seems equally true, but it is believed to be of sufficient importance to make necessary a more detailed study of the relation of the immigrant to the court.

Section 2. The Immigrant in the Courts.

A. INTERPRETERS.

The municipal or police courts are, to the immigrant, the courts of surpassing importance as object-lessons in American justice or injustice. In many States the police judges and justices of the peace have been accused of the grossest abuse of their power in cases where immigrants are concerned, so that the worst possible lesson has been learned by the immigrant in his first conscious contact with American law. Fortunately, this has been prevented in Massachusetts by the method of appointment and by the traditions surrounding all trial justices.¹ But impartiality and intelligence on the part of the judge are not sufficient.

In these courts the immigrant appears as complainant or defendant, ignorant not only of American law and court procedure but of the language as well. The judge is therefore dependent upon the interpreter for his knowledge of the facts; the intelligence, honesty and impartiality of the interpreter are as important as his own.

In this matter, as in education, the importance of planning to care for the immigrant in accordance with American standards of justice has never been really faced. Instead of responsible interpreters, those provided are too often dangerously

¹ Justices of the peace have no authority to try any cases, civil or criminal, receive complaints or issue warrants. (Mass. R. L., ch. 161, sec. 5.) The Governor may designate a justice of the peace a trial justice only upon the petition of the mayor and aldermen of a city or the selectmen of a town in which neither a justice of the police or district court nor a clerk or assistant clerk of such courts resides. When so designated he may issue warrants returnable to these courts and take bail, but cannot try cases. (Mass. R. L., ch. 161, sec. 3.) The position of the justice of the peace in Massachusetts is therefore similar to that of the notary public, and in his appointment for those duties sufficient discretion is not exercised. (See ch. VIII, sec. 3, on Notaries Public.)

incompetent. Recent improvement has been made in the Municipal Court of Boston. In 1912 a law was passed authorizing the justices of this court to employ official interpreters.¹ In the autumn of 1913, when the justices desired to appoint under this statute an interpreter for the Slavic, Lithuanian and Yiddish languages by civil service examination, they found that the Civil Service Commission had no authority to certify interpreters. The commission agreed, however, as a matter of courtesy, to hold the examination. This examination, which was mainly a test of the applicant's ability to translate these languages, brought out the fact that many of the men who had been for years interpreting about the Boston court had a totally inadequate vocabulary both in English and in the foreign language.

The Municipal Court of Boston now has two official interpreters who are paid \$1,500 a year, and are used for court work and in the probation service. In South Boston and East Boston and in other parts of the city that are not under the jurisdiction of the Municipal Court of Boston, and in the other cities and towns of the State, there are no official interpreters. Men who speak Italian, Polish, Greek and other foreign languages hang about the court in the hope of being called as interpreters. The judge usually calls the same one over and over, and therefore a few, although never really appointed as interpreters, come to do practically all the interpreting of the court. There is no uniformity in the matter of their selection or their pay. Some receive \$2 for every case, some \$2 for every day they are used, no matter in how many cases; others are paid \$3, and some as little as 60 cents for a day's work. Most of these interpreters, although they may have some other business, are practically dependent for support on their employment about the court.

Owing to this method of selection and payment the legitimate earnings of the interpreter are wholly inadequate and, in consequence, he may be tempted to take money from those interested in the outcome of the case, and to arrange for division of fees with some "shyster" lawyer for whom he acts as runner. In every city in which investigations were made

¹ *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves*, 1912, ch. 648.

by the commission complaints of dishonesty on the part of present or former interpreters were heard. Police officers and clerks of court said that men ignorant of English as well as of the language they were attempting to interpret are constantly accepted as interpreters because no others are available. In order to determine the general truth of this statement, interpreters who are used in four different cities were selected quite at random by the commission and given a very simple test as to their command of the languages that they testified they were interpreting in court. One of the men met the tests given satisfactorily; the others were quite incompetent. For example, one man who regularly interprets Polish and Lithuanian in the South Boston court was asked to translate from a Polish newspaper a paragraph¹ which, translated, reads as follows: —

Rochester, N. Y. — Frank Zgodzinoki, sixteen years of age, was arrested for stealing coal from the New York Central Railroad yard. During the hearing of the case it was learned that the boy was sent by his mother to get coal. The boy was discharged, but the judge threatened to send his mother to jail if she taught the boy to steal.

Of this, the interpreter, after reading and rereading, was, according to the stenographic report, able to make out the following: —

Rochester, N. Y. — There was arrested 16 March Francis Zgodzinoki for — something about the mother. I understand some the mother was arrested in some affairs. Central President, that is New York Central.

The man realized his inability to translate it and offered various excuses; that questions are asked in court in a “quite different way entirely;” that “when the man comes upon the stand to testify we know what he is going to say;” and that in important cases the judge allows him to use a dictionary. Another interpreter who claimed to speak and understand Polish but not to read it, and who was sure he could translate this same paragraph if it were read to him, translated sentence by sentence as follows: —

It was arrested about sixteen years ago a man by the name of Francisco Zgodzinoki. The charge was the larceny of the New York Central. He

¹ See Appendix Q for the original Polish.

was tried and acquitted. His mother sent a boy. He was asked the question whether he was going to learn the children to steal.

An Italian interpreter translated a paragraph taken from an Italian newspaper as follows:—

Accusing of fraud in damage of certain Siegfried Maas, collector of electric house. The fellows William Tantoni and Romeo Rinaldi they appeared before Magistrate Tennant. The day of 12 last May in Massachusetts Avenue aggressed and robbed of \$9. They were arrested and those present auditor of the fraud further Rinaldi and Tantoni and a certain William King they are confession the crime. They probated and they return to Rahway Reformatory. The Tantoni and Rinaldi so they got out and proved their innocence and they were set free.¹

It is unnecessary to give the correct translation here. The man's ignorance of English is sufficiently clear to indicate that he was capable neither of properly putting the questions of the court and attorneys nor of interpreting the answers of a witness, yet he has been doing such work about the courts for the last fifteen years. He said he interpreted both the Sicilian and Calabrian dialects also, but when tested he failed even more completely with these. According to his testimony he is often employed by lawyers to help work up the evidence before the trial, and he usually has some lawyer to whom he refers Italians who come to him with their troubles. This man's own statement seemed to confirm the reports which the commission received that he is not only ignorant but dishonest, and is deliberately using his position to exploit his fellow countrymen and defeat justice.

A common complaint is that an Italian undertakes to translate dialects that he does not understand. The Pole who knows Polish is likewise allowed to translate Russian, Bohemian, Slovak and the other Slavic languages. He may perhaps in rare cases have learned all these, but as a general rule he is able to understand something of what is being said only because of the general similarity of the languages. That means, of course, that he is entirely unable to make the accurate translation that is essential in the administration of justice.

Since the judge can know the facts only through the in-

¹ See Appendix Q for the original Italian and correct translation.

terpreter, the honesty, competence and disinterestedness of the interpreter, as we have said, are as essential as his own. There can be no assurance that these qualities are possessed under the present system, or lack of system. It is important to the State not only that the individual concerned should not be unjustly punished or deprived of his liberty, but that this injustice should not result in the unfortunate belief that the courts are unfair to the foreigners, and that those who are especially charged with the enforcement of the law lend themselves to its defeat.

The only objection that can be made to official interpreters whose qualifications have been tested is on the ground of expense. How much is paid under the present fee system could be learned only with great difficulty. One interpreter who is paid \$2 for every case reported that he was paid during November, 1913, \$104 by the county and \$24 by the clerk of the court. An official interpreter on a yearly salary could certainly be employed in this court. Often, however, the fees amount to from \$25 to \$50 in a month and, for languages seldom used, to very much less. This fact does not seem, however, to present insurmountable difficulties. The Civil Service Commission could prepare an eligible list, and appointments when made should be from such a list. In many cases an interpreter's time could be filled by assigning him to the probation service, which, because of the language difficulty, is less frequently used with non-English speaking foreigners than with other offenders.

Neither expense nor occasional delay should outweigh the necessity of having for interpreters only those who are salaried officers of the court, appointed only after a thorough test of their competence by the Civil Service Commission.

B. LAWYERS.

Uneducated and often unscrupulous interpreters usually have some lawyer to whom they direct the immigrant and, according to reports made to the commission, the lawyer and the interpreter often conspire together to encourage the filing of complaints. Not infrequently the runner goes to both parties and helps them to work up their cases, receiving fees

from both and promising to "look out for" both when the case comes up for trial.

The lawyers who visit the municipal courts and the jails, offering their services to those who are awaiting trial, or who pay these interpreters a commission on cases, are usually of the lowest grade, both in honesty and ability; and yet upon these men the immigrant is dependent.

Ignorant of all his legal rights, unable to talk to police, attorney or judge, he must have some one who will explain the charge to him, notify his friends, find a lawyer for him and then act as interpreter in his dealings with his lawyer and when his case comes up for trial. For this reason the "runner," whose character and practices are so well known, cannot be excluded from the courts until interpreters and attorneys for the defense are provided by the State.

That an innocent man should not be convicted is as important to the State as that a guilty one should not escape. If, as is often charged, we are making rather than reforming criminals, under our present prison system, it is even more important. Until the State concerns itself with the protection both of the Americans and of the immigrants who are having their first experience with courts of any sort, they will suffer much at the hands of these lawyers. Because of the greater handicap, the immigrant will suffer more seriously. How he comes out in his first direct contact with the law will do much to influence his future in America. In order, therefore, to prevent crime and teach respect for law, provision for public defenders should be made. Massachusetts will in any case not be the first to experiment with this policy, since Los Angeles already has its public defender as part of its judicial system; but it is to be hoped that in this reform as in so many others she may at least be one of the leaders.

A bill providing for the carrying out of this recommendation is appended to this report (Bill, p. 228).

The Immigrant in the Civil Courts.

In the civil court, too, the immigrant suffers at the hands of interpreters and lawyers, and the securing of "redress for grievances" is very expensive. Cases dealing with small wage

claims, fraud and misrepresentation, trouble with the loan shark or the company that sells on the installment plan, personal injury and damage suits are the occasions when he most frequently finds himself in need of counsel. If he must pay both interpreter and lawyer the door of the court is closed to him. In many cases payment of either is not warranted by the amount involved, and yet the social effects of the prosecution of these cases make the expenditure necessary from the standpoint of the welfare of the community. The payment of the interpreter, whose impartiality is essential, should here, too, be undertaken by the court.

Lawyers' services could be arranged for through a legal aid society which corresponds to the dispensary or clinic in medicine. There is such a society in Boston, but its existence is not known to the immigrant and advertisement presents some difficulties. A State Board of Immigration such as is recommended in chapter XIII of this report would assist in applying all the private as well as public resources of the State to the needs of the immigrant, and so would meet this difficulty. In cities where no regularly organized legal aid society exists some arrangement for disinterested advice by the local bar should be possible. This is a matter of much greater importance than is generally realized.

Because of his bitter experiences at the hands of the petty exploiters, and because of the misrepresentation on the part of interpreters and "shyster" lawyers through whom he seeks to obtain justice, the immigrant is learning some of the ugliest aspects of our life, and his Americanization along right lines is, for this reason, being prevented or at least rendered more difficult.

CHAPTER VI.

EDUCATION.

Education is and must always be a most important factor in the solution of the many difficulties and misunderstandings that come with a highly complex population. Only by education can immigrant children representing every nationality and every grade of social development be prepared for equal participation in the responsibilities of citizenship. For the most part, only through special instruction in the evening schools can the adult immigrant be given the opportunity to learn English, to supplement his inadequate training and to prepare for naturalization.

Knowledge of English a First Requisite.

To speak English and to understand it is the vital need of the immigrant. Self-protection requires this; social safety demands it; without it assimilation is impossible; upon it depends the realization of the obligations, privileges and rights of American citizenship. Insistently urged by nearly all of those whom the commission has met in public hearing or private conference, it is the unanimous judgment of the commission itself. To the diffusion of this knowledge the Commonwealth should address itself with promptness and energy. The arrival of from 70,000 to 100,000 newcomers each year, most of whom are unable to speak English and consequently — if neglected or ignored — are subject to the abuses, the misdirection, the prejudices of exploiters and irresponsible agitators, — cannot but strain the social fabric to the breaking point.

An examination of the various agencies through which the adult immigrant and the immigrant child are being prepared for citizenship was therefore considered one of the first duties of the commission.¹

¹ See description of the investigations of the commission, Appendix A.

Section 1. The Public Schools.

The public school must receive children endowed with all the inherited prejudices of Europe and America, and is expected to transform these prejudices into a sympathetic understanding and acceptance of differences and into a common devotion to the welfare of all the people. To accomplish this, no narrow conception of education can be followed.

In an immigrant center, the children come from homes where the industrial struggle is most difficult; from neighborhoods near which the vicious and intemperate are apt to congregate and where congestion is most serious. The schools must therefore, as Mr. Woods has pointed out, "bring light and life and social healing" into the lives of these children.¹ The teachers have been given the practically impossible task of offsetting, by training, in a pitifully brief time, the social and economic disadvantages under which these immigrant children begin life, in order that they may have the "equal opportunity" which, we like to believe, is offered to all the children of the Commonwealth.

A. ADAPTATION OF METHODS OF TEACHING AND COURSE OF STUDY IN DAY SCHOOLS.

In order that any part of this difficult task may satisfactorily be accomplished, the most careful adaptation of educational methods is obviously necessary; but in most cities the immigrant children have been regarded as demanding special consideration only when their ignorance of English made proper grading impossible. Twenty-six cities and towns in the State report that "steamer" classes are provided for those children who are above the primary age when they arrive. In these cities and towns it is not necessary to put them in classes with very young children, to the disadvantage of both. Where excellent methods are used and proper provision is made for the separate instruction of those who have had little schooling in Europe and of those who have had much, English is learned in an incredibly short time. Sometimes, however, newly

¹ Woods, Robert A., *The City Wilderness*, p. 231.

arrived immigrant children are placed in a "special" class with the backward and subnormal children for whom quite different methods are needed, and a grave injustice is thus done to both groups.

Except for these "steamer" classes there is practically no modification of method or of course of study for the education of the children who come from Southern and Eastern Europe. As an evidence of fairness to the immigrant, some superintendents reported that "no distinction is made between the foreign and native born." Yet it was long ago recognized that all teaching must be carefully adapted to the background of each child's life. To know this background the teachers must study the modifications of the old-world customs and traditions as they are found in Boston, New Bedford and Springfield. They must know the parents as well as the children; their past as well as their present. To fail to do this means much more than making the pedagogical error of not taking advantage of what is already known.

The peasant father or mother who comes from rural Europe to a Massachusetts city or town to new work, a new mode of life and new social customs almost inevitably suffers from a confusion of standards. When no effort is made by the schools to reach the parents directly, these fathers and mothers are forced to depend upon their children's interpretation of what is right or wrong, necessary or unnecessary, in America. The dependence of the mother, which is greater than that of the father whose work opens to him other sources of information, is peculiarly unfortunate.

There is a growing recognition of the danger in this situation. Intelligent teachers are finding in it the explanation of the fact that crime and delinquency are more frequent among the "second generation" than among the immigrants themselves. While immigrant parents will always look to their children for help in understanding America, the teachers must keep the fact constantly in mind that a too conscious attempt to educate the parents through the children results in a reversal of the relationships of parent and child, which means an inevitable breaking down of parental control.

For this reason we need very carefully worked out plans for teaching respect for the virtues that these immigrant parents possess. Proper emphasis should also be given to the contribution that Russia, Italy, Austria, and other countries have made to the literature, art or political history of the United States.

The large number of these children warrants the most careful working out of a theory of how the schools can "educate" the immigrant children along American lines and at the same time not destroy the traditions around which their whole family life is built. The United States Immigration Commission found that in Chelsea, for example, the fathers of 74.1 per cent of the public-school children were foreign-born, and that 52.8 per cent came from countries in which English is not the native language; while in Fall River the fathers of a few more, and in Boston of a few less, than one-third of all the public-school children came from non-English speaking countries.¹ Failure to take into consideration, in the planning of the work and play of these children, the history of these immigrant people and their life and work in America means a needlessly imperfect education for all such children.

B. THE EDUCATION OF THE IMMIGRANT IN EVENING SCHOOLS.

So far as the State is concerned there has been practically no recognition of the fact that special provision must be made for the education of the enormous number of non-English speaking immigrants who go to work immediately upon their arrival in Massachusetts. Since 1870 the Commonwealth has required cities and towns having a population of over 10,000 to maintain evening schools, but it was not until 1898 that instruction in the English language was added to the list of subjects which, according to statute, *must be offered in these schools.*²

¹ *Reports of the U. S. Immigration Commission*, Vol. 29, p. 15.

² The Legislature first formally authorized the establishment of "adult schools" in 1857 (*Massachusetts Acts and Resolves*, ch. 189, sec. 1). In 1870 (ch. 248, sec. 2) cities or towns having a population of over 10,000 were required to provide evening instruction in mechanical drawing, and in 1883 (ch. 174, secs. 1, 2) these towns and cities were required to maintain such night schools "for the instruction of persons over twelve years of age in orthography, reading, writing, geography, arithmetic, drawing, the history of the United States, and good behavior." In 1898 (ch. 496, sec. 5) the English language and grammar, physiology and hygiene were added to this list of required subjects, and the age at which attendance is allowed changed to fourteen.

Since 1887¹ illiterate minors who are above the age of compulsory attendance at day schools have been required to attend these schools. The law passed in that year has been amended several times² — the last time in 1913, — so that at present every minor between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, employed or unemployed,³ married or single, who is unable to pass the requirements in reading, writing and spelling for the completion of the fourth grade⁴ of the public school, is required to be in regular attendance at public evening school while it is in session.

The passage of these laws is all that the State has done to meet this problem, and the first question is, has this been sufficient? A comparison of the number of illiterates in the State and of the number in attendance at the evening schools shows that much more must be done by the Commonwealth.

Illiteracy in Massachusetts means inability to meet the requirements for the completion of the fourth grade in the public school.⁵ Unfortunately, there are no figures available showing the number who lack this rudimentary education.

The following table, compiled from the United States Census reports, shows the number unable to read and write in any language. These figures are based not on tests given by the census enumerations, but on the statement of the people themselves as to whether they were able to read and write. It may therefore be assumed that the census figures understate rather than overstate the numbers.

¹ *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves*, 1887, ch. 433, required attendance only if the illiterate minor, since reaching the age of fourteen, had been for one year continuously a resident of the city or town where the evening school was held.

² In 1889 (*Massachusetts Acts and Resolves*, ch. 135) an attendance of 70 per cent was substituted for "regular attendance." This was repealed in 1891 (ch. 317). The law was slightly modified in 1898 (ch. 494, sec. 7), and in 1912 (ch. 191) the word minor was declared to mean, "in regard to the compulsory attendance of illiterate minors at day or evening school . . . a person under the age of twenty-one years."

³ *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves*, 1913, ch. 467, sec. 1; ch. 779, sec. 23.

⁴ "The ability to read at sight and to write legibly simple sentences in the English language" was not interpreted by legislation until 1906, when provision was made (*Massachusetts Acts and Resolves*, ch. 284, sec. 1) that it should "be construed as meaning, in the year nineteen hundred and six, such ability to read and write as is required for admission to the second grade, in the year nineteen hundred and seven . . . to the third grade, and in the year nineteen hundred and eight and thereafter . . . to the fourth grade. . . ." In 1913 (ch. 779, secs. 1, 23) the test was made the completion of the fourth grade.

⁵ *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves*, 1913, ch. 779, secs. 1, 23.

TABLE 15. — *Number and Per Cent of Persons in Massachusetts Fifteen Years of Age and Over unable to read and write in Any Language in 1910, 1900 and 1890.*¹

	NUMBER OF PERSONS FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER UNABLE TO READ AND WRITE.			PER CENT UNABLE TO READ AND WRITE OF TOTAL POPULATION FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER.		
	1910.	1900.	1890.	1910.	1900.	1890.
All classes,	140,844	132,501	112,877	5.7	6.5	6.9
Native white of native parentage, . . .	3,302	3,759	4,052	.4	.5	.5
Native white of foreign or mixed parentage,	5,523	6,523	5,107	.9	1.3	1.6
Foreign-born white,	129,064	118,527	100,733	13.0	15.1	16.9

According to these figures the per cent of those unable to read and write has decreased among both the native and the foreign born, but there has been an absolute increase from 132,501 unable to read and write in 1900 to 140,844 in 1910, for which the foreign-born are entirely responsible. Ignorance of English on the part of an increasingly large proportion of the foreign-born has made this whole problem of illiteracy a much more serious one, so that the fact that the number of foreign-born whites in Massachusetts unable to speak the English language increased from 24 per 1,000 population in 1890 to 27 per 1,000 in 1900, and 51 per 1,000 in 1910,² is of special significance.

How many have been added to this non-English speaking group since 1910 can be estimated from the annual reports of the United States Commissioner of Immigration. Of the immigrants who arrived during the year ending June 30, 1911, and gave Massachusetts as their destination, 53,635 belonged to the non-English speaking races;³ during the next year the number was slightly larger, — 54,964,⁴ while in the year ending June

¹ Population figures for 1910 compiled from *U. S. Thirteenth Census (1910), Abstract*, Table 12, p. 133. Illiteracy figures for 1910 compiled from *Thirteenth Census*, Vol. I, *Population*, p. 1220, Table 27. Population figures for 1900 compiled from *Twelfth Census (1900), Population*, Pt. II, Table 2, p. 50. Population figures for 1890 compiled from *Eleventh Census (1890), Population*, Table 2, p. 44. Illiteracy figures for 1890 and 1900 compiled from *Twelfth Census, Population*, Pt. II, Tables LIV, LVIII, LX, p. c, civ and cvi, and from Tables LXVII, LXVIII, LXIX, p. cxv, cxvi and cxvii.

² *U. S. Thirteenth Census (1910), Vol. I, Population*, p. 1277, Table 18.

³ *Annual Report of the U. S. Commissioner-General of Immigration*, 1911, p. 33.

⁴ *Idem*, 1912, p. 87.

30, 1913, 85,347 who belonged to the non-English speaking races came to Massachusetts.¹ According to these figures, 193,946 immigrants of non-English speaking races have come to the State since 1910, when there were, according to the census, 171,014 foreign-born white persons ten years of age and over unable to speak English. How rapidly this number of people, very few of whom knew English on their arrival, will acquire the language cannot be predicted. The investigations of the commission² showed that of 1,224 immigrants from whom personal history schedules were secured, 504, or 41 per cent, had learned to speak English, while of those who had been here less than three years, only 14.8 per cent were able to do this, as the following table shows:—

TABLE 16. — *Length of Residence in the United States together with Ability to speak English of 1,224 Immigrants in 12 Cities and Towns of Massachusetts from whom Personal History Schedules were obtained.*

ABLE TO SPEAK ENGLISH.	LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES.											Total Number
	Less than 1 Year.	1 Year and less than 2 Years.	2 Years and less than 3 Years.	3 Years and less than 4 Years.	4 Years and less than 5 Years.	5 Years and less than 6 Years.	6 Years and less than 7 Years.	7 Years and less than 8 Years.	8 Years and less than 9 Years.	9 Years and less than 10 Years.	10 Years and Over.	
Yes,	7	22	20	38	36	23	34	48	51	27	198	504
No,	128	102	51	65	47	37	37	40	34	27	152	720
Total, . . .	135	124	71	103	83	60	71	88	85	54	350	1,224

Even this small proportion found to have a speaking knowledge of the English language is larger than the enrolment in the evening schools and the money expended for their support would lead one to expect.

During the school year 1910-1911, when the report of the United States Census and the report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration showed more than 224,000 non-English speaking persons in Massachusetts, the annual per capita expenditure for their education was less than \$1.³ With this

¹ Figures furnished by the U. S. Commissioner-General of Immigration.

² See Appendix A.

³ *Annual Report of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, 1913, School Returns, p. cxxxix.* Total expenditure for evening schools, including high schools and industrial classes, was \$350,-608.76.

wholly inadequate expenditure, 60,785 were enrolled in the evening schools, and the actual average attendance was 25,483.¹ Of this pitifully inadequate enrolment about one-third were in the evening high school and industrial classes, so that, when approximately 224,000 represented the number of non-English speaking persons in Massachusetts, the total enrolment in the elementary evening classes was less than 45,000, and the average attendance about 17,000.

During the year 1912-1913, of the 85,347 additional non-English speaking immigrants who came to Massachusetts, approximately 64,456² were over fourteen years of age. During that year the increase in the evening school enrolment was only 1,454, and the utterly inadequate expenditure of the previous year was decreased.

The accompanying diagram graphically illustrates this increase in the non-English speaking population of Massachusetts and the relatively much smaller increase in attendance in the evening schools of the State: —

It must not be supposed that the need was met by private agencies. The Young Men's Christian Association reports that it enrolled 5,724 immigrant men in the elementary English classes which it held in eighteen cities and towns in the State, during 1912-1913. Perhaps 800 more were in the classes conducted by the settlements, the North American Civic League for Immigrants and local church organizations. It would probably be understating rather than overstating it to say that the number of non-English speaking foreigners who were not reached during that year by either our public or our private agencies was over 200,000.

¹ *Annual report of the Massachusetts State Board of Education*, 1913, School Returns, p. cxxxix.

² This figure is based on the assumption that among the immigrants destined to Massachusetts, the proportion fourteen years of age and over of each nationality was the same as for those admitted to the United States as a whole.

A

B

DIAGRAM 6. — A = number of non-English speaking immigrants over fourteen years of age who came to Massachusetts in 1912-1913. B = increase in number of pupils enrolled in evening schools in Massachusetts in 1912-1913.

These figures do not include the very much larger number of those who have learned to read, write and speak English, and who should be included in any educational program intended to give adequate preparation for citizenship.¹

Law requiring Attendance of Illiterate Minors not well enforced.

Last year all illiterate persons between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, who were living in towns or cities where public evening schools were maintained, were required by law to attend these classes regularly as a condition of their legal employment at any kind of work. Owing to the fact that the school census includes only the children who are between five and fifteen years of age, there is no way of determining accurately how many under this law should have been attending evening school. From the personal history schedules which the commission secured it was found that out of 254 persons who, though under twenty-one years of age at the time of their arrival in the United States, had never attended night school 122, or 48 per cent, had lived in cities or towns where evening classes were held.² All of these were illiterate according to the Massachusetts definition. In other words, 48 per cent of those whom the law required to attend regularly had never been in an evening class.

Those superintendents of the night schools who have really worked at the problem will not be surprised to know that the law has failed to reach a very large per cent of those for whom it was designed. The schools, they will say, had no adequate machinery for reaching every employer of from 1 to 1,000 illiterate minors. Even with the co-operation of such employers as could be reached and persuaded to co-operate, it was in many cases impossible to follow the immigrant from one industry to another because of the changes that were made in name, age and address. The discouraging thing is that the superintendents of 32 out of 54 cities and towns in which night schools were conducted, who reported on this point, said they encountered "no difficulties" in the enforcement of this law. The only conclusion that can be drawn from their statements would seem to be that they have made no attempt to enforce it.

¹ See chapter vii. on Naturalization, pp. 157-160.

² See Appendix A for description of the general investigations of the commission.

The new law regulating the granting of working certificates, which went into effect in September, 1913, should make the enforcement of the law much easier. But even with the requirement of re-registration with every change of employment, some method of checking up the records of the certificate office with the records of the evening classes will have to be worked out.

Greek Boys in "Shoe-shine Parlors" not included in the Present Certificate Law.

Moreover, the certificate law includes only factories, workshops, manufacturing, mechanical or mercantile establishments.¹ In these the employment of the illiterate minor is legal only if weekly reports from the principal testify to his regular attendance at night schools when such are maintained.

But the Greek boy who works in a "shoe-shine parlor," or as a helper on a peddler's wagon, or the Italian who begins with the pick and shovel, is not required to furnish his employer with the evidence that he is obeying the law which requires him to be in regular attendance at evening school. In his case there will not be the double check of attendance officer and factory inspector.

This is peculiarly unfortunate. Nothing can, however, so effectively end the abuses found in connection with the employment of Greek boys in shoe-shine parlors as the enforcement of this law compelling attendance at evening school. Most of these boys are between sixteen and twenty-one years of age, and the exploiting proprietor knows that, as soon as they have learned a little English and have met others who have been in this country longer, his game is spoiled. So he works the boys long hours, boards them where they meet no one except those who are as ignorant of American conditions as themselves, prohibits their talking to any one who enters the shop, and thus keeps them entirely dependent upon himself. There is no one who can break through this system except the attendance officer, and he is without the facts that would enable him to enforce the law.

¹ *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves*, 1913, ch. 779, sec. 15.

United States Immigration Officials should furnish Truant Officers with the Names of Arriving Immigrant Children.

To supply the attendance officer with the information that he needs, the school census must be required to include all minors. In addition, some plan of co-operation between the State and the United States Immigration Bureau should be worked out that would inform the attendance officer of all those who come into his district after the census is taken.

Complete records of the names and ages of arriving immigrants, and of the addresses of the persons to whom they are destined, are kept by the immigration officials at the ports. With the permission of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration, school authorities could therefore be furnished the name, age and address of every child destined to their district. Such information would enable the attendance officer to visit the house or establishment armed with the facts that, because of language difficulties and suspicion, he could otherwise secure only with the greatest difficulty. Such information would be of great assistance, also, in securing the immediate enrolment in the day school of all those who are under fourteen years of age when they arrive.

State Supervision of Enforcement of Compulsory Attendance Law Necessary.

A study of the lack of uniformity and thoroughness in the enforcement of the old attendance law indicates that legislative provision for new and improved administrative machinery will not enforce itself. It is obvious that a new and better certificate and attendance law will not keep these illiterate minors in regular attendance in evening classes if the local communities are indifferent as to whether they attend or not, and do not attempt really to enforce the law. The State Board of Education could give valuable assistance by suggesting the solution of the difficult technical problems involved, and by exercising such general supervision as would promote a more uniform enforcement of the law throughout the State.

No Standards for Measuring Effectiveness in Evening School Teaching of Immigrants.

It has been shown that, so far as numbers are concerned, the evening schools do not in any sense approximate the needs of the situation. Furthermore, judged by the expertness of the teaching, the system of grading and classification, the regularity of attendance and the results obtained, most of the evening schools fall far short of even a moderate degree of efficiency.

"We must have evening schools and the illiterate minor must attend; if the adult immigrant does not care to take advantage of the opportunities offered him, it is no fault of ours," has been the attitude of the school in too many instances.

The only real concern has been to keep down the expense. But even if sufficient money were available, proper improvement in the night school work could not at once be obtained, for the whole problem of evening school organization and method of instruction has received practically no consideration from educational experts.

In those cities that have the best evening schools there is the frankest condemnation, on the part of the superintendents and principals, of the inadequacies of the present system. They recognize that the fundamental difficulty in the development of the evening school work is the lack of standards as to what can be accomplished. At the present time little is known about how illiterate adults ought to be taught or how, for example, the teaching of illiterate adult Russian Jews should differ from the teaching of illiterate adult Italians. The teaching is also not modified to suit the different ages and grades of preparedness found among the representatives of each nationality.

During the last few years, when for the first time some attention has been given this neglected field of educational opportunity, the discovery was promptly made that children's primers do not contain the most useful or interesting vocabulary for the adult foreigner; consequently, a much better selection of books is now possible and generally made by Massachusetts schools. This, while important, does not attack the fundamental difficulties, which are rather a lack of standards as to what can and should be accomplished in a given period.

The Educational Program must be adapted to the Different Groups.

The first step in the more efficient organization of the evening schools of the State is the recognition of the difference in the possibilities of the groups that must be educated in these schools.

Those who are between fourteen and twenty-one years of age at the time of their arrival constitute a very large per cent of the young people who are coming to Massachusetts from Southern and Eastern Europe. Many of these are from districts where education is still the privilege of the few.

From a purely selfish regard for its own welfare the State should give these young immigrants, in addition to an elementary knowledge of English, as much general education as possible and some vocational training. Indeed, the amount of education that can be successfully and profitably planned for this group largely depends upon the stimulating quality of the teachers and the physical endurance of the pupils, and the latter is extremely important. In the case of the immigrant girl, although she brings the physique and endurance of the country bred, the change from long hours of work out of doors to ten hours of work in the spinning-room of a mill, or of dish-washing in a basement kitchen, usually means physical exhaustion at the end of the day. The boys, too, after the slow, easy-going pace they have known in Europe, find the change to the highly specialized industrial organization of the United States equally trying. Neither group is in proper condition to receive instruction four, or even two or three, evenings a week. The phenomenal progress that some have made in the past is only a proof that their eagerness overcomes their physical weariness.

The difficulty of successfully teaching these young people after a long working day will have to be met by an extension of the part-time or continuation school principle.

Part-time Schools for Immigrants between Fourteen and Seventeen Years of Age.

The investigation of this system of education, which was submitted to the Legislature a year ago, showed that two shifts of boys and girls could alternate at school and factory

with no immediate loss to the employers and with, of course, large future gains for all concerned.¹

The part-time school, so far as it has been considered in Massachusetts, is intended for those who are literate, and is to correlate the theoretical work of the school with the practical training in the shop or factory, so as to make for greater industrial efficiency. The part-time school that should be provided for the immigrant child is one that prepares him for this other vocational part-time school by teaching him English and by supplementing the inadequate early training he received in the old country. It is not too much for the Commonwealth to require that all immigrants under seventeen should spend at least five half days a week in preparing themselves for their social, industrial and political life in America.

It is true that at present illiterate minors who are between the ages of fourteen and sixteen are required to attend school all day. But in most schools they are placed in the regular classes, where they interfere with the progress of the younger children and cannot be given the attention they need. With half-day instruction in classes specially planned to meet their needs, and conducted for forty weeks a year, conforming to the day school period, it is believed that the illiterate immigrant children between fourteen and seventeen years of age would become literate more rapidly than in the regular full-time schools.

With the better teaching which the special part-time classes for these children would make possible, more of them would want to continue their education after they met the fourth grade requirements and were no longer compelled to come. The opportunity of alternating work and education which the part-time school offers, makes economically possible for more of them a longer period of attendance than would be possible if full-day attendance were required.

From the standpoint both of the State and of the immigrant these half-day schools are not only desirable but immediately practicable, and from the standpoint of the manufacturer they are not impracticable; some manufacturers reported that they would welcome such a combination of school and work, and undoubtedly many more would approve it after it had once been given a fair trial.

¹ *The Needs and Possibilities of Part-time Education*, pp. 112-118.

So far as the additional expense is concerned, it must be remembered that to provide part-time schooling for the immigrant who is between fourteen and seventeen years of age when he arrives will cost much less than to educate the child born here or the child who comes here when he is much younger than fourteen. Each is equally important in the future of the State.

Evening Schools for those between Seventeen and Twenty-one Years of Age.

Those who are between seventeen and twenty-one years of age should as at present be required to attend evening school until they become literate. The commission gave some consideration to the question as to whether this age should not be raised to twenty-five or thirty years. It was also suggested that the compulsion should take the form of requiring that all immigrants under thirty years of age must attain the Massachusetts standard of literacy within a reasonable time after their arrival, under penalty of being debarred from employment. But until much more has been done to provide the kind of instruction that is needed for those who will attend voluntarily, any plan of this sort seemed inadvisable. It is to be hoped that the standard of literacy will gradually be raised in the future, as it has been in the past, so that the educational requirements that the State enforces will more nearly approach those standards generally recognized as demanded by the need of the child and of the State.

Very much more than is required of them by law should be offered this group between seventeen and twenty-one years of age. If the schools are better organized so as to offer opportunities that are commensurate with the sacrifice involved in devoting to study the time that is needed for recreation, the number in voluntary attendance at evening classes will be greatly increased.

The Groups of Older Men and Women.

The standard of what should be accomplished with the older men, especially those who are between thirty and forty years of age when they come to the United States, must be



An evening school class of Greeks, which includes old men and boys, the educated and those unable to read and write in any language.

quite different from the standard by which we should measure successful teaching of those between sixteen and twenty-one years of age, and of those between twenty-one and thirty. As the standard is different, so the method and subject-matter must be different. Fewer evenings a week, older teachers, the use of moving pictures, lectures in their own languages, and every conceivable short cut to an understanding of the life of the community in which they live and work must be given these older people. They should, moreover, not be asked to go into a class with young people, in comparison with whose superior training their deficiencies are a source of shame and humiliation.

The mothers, whose days and nights are spent in family service, are, because their isolation is so complete, most in need of assistance. There are those who believe that the educational machinery can never be adjusted to meet the needs of this group. As a matter of fact, no great changes are necessary. These older women will, of course, not come to public schools if the classes meet four or five times a week, or at hours which interfere with their home duties or if they are composed principally of young people. They will not come if they are taught by a teacher who knows nothing of their background of experience and tradition, and who does not appreciate how much assistance even educated persons need if they are going to adjust successfully their old-world standards of home making to the needs of their children, who are being so rapidly Americanized away from all parental control. The experience of Boston with two classes of these women last year, and of Newton with three such groups this year, demonstrates that the attendance of these women can be secured if a real attempt is made. The importance of reaching this group has been already explained in the discussion of the education of the immigrant child.¹

Evening Classes in Labor Camps.

The foreign laborer who works with the pick and shovel usually goes from one camp to another as the work is finished, and never remains long enough in any one place to make his education the problem of that community. The youth of many

¹ See pp. 116, 117.

of these men, the bad housing provided in the labor camps and the temptations that result from social isolation, make it extremely important that these camps should not be overlooked in the educational program.¹

The few experimental camp schools that have been privately conducted in Massachusetts have taught the men English and many other things they need to know, and have greatly improved the general moral tone of the camps.

The organization and methods used in camp schools must be so different from those employed in other evening schools that it is believed they can be more successfully conducted by the State than by the local community. Moreover, because these camps are moved frequently, from place to place, the duty of providing the instruction which these men need belongs to the Commonwealth, and the commission therefore recommends that evening camp schools should be maintained by the Board of Education for both illiterate minors and adults.

Special Training Necessary for Teachers of Immigrants.

In discussing the better organization of evening school work, the teacher, who is admittedly the most important factor in its success, has not as yet been considered.

When it is remembered that evening school follows a long day of hard work; that a large number of those who come are unable to read and write in their own language; that the class is often made up of representatives of many different nationalities; that while the immediate acquisition of a working knowledge of English is enormously important, the ambition to acquire much more than this must be stimulated; and that however eager the immigrant may be the period of his attendance must of necessity be relatively short, it is at once apparent that a high degree of professional skill, as well as of special aptitude for this kind of teaching, is necessary. But the very general belief that evening classes are only an unimportant adjunct to the school system has meant that the teachers generally have not measured up to this standard.

The reports from 62 out of 67 cities and towns which conducted night schools in 1912-1913 and replied to the com-

¹ See pp. 69-73; for Bill, see p. 230, sec. 11.

mission's questions, show that some or all of the night-school teachers were employed in the day schools also. In the cities and towns where classes meet four nights weekly — in one case five nights — it is obvious that the day-school teacher cannot furnish the necessary vigor, enthusiasm and special preparation; while, on the other hand, the demand that the evening school makes on her strength leaves her unable to do the best teaching of which she is capable the next day. So it is a costly system from both standpoints.

The salaries of the night-school teachers range from 75 cents in one town of over 10,000, which has a large foreign population, to \$2.50 an evening. In 25 out of the 66 cities and towns from which information was secured on this point the salary was between \$1.50 and \$2 an evening. What this money is able to purchase in professional skill and experience would seem to be an ample explanation of the reason why the teaching in the night school falls far short of what is necessary. It should, however, be noted in full justice to some self-sacrificing teachers who are genuinely interested in the work that their salaries are an inadequate measure of their usefulness. On the other hand, in some cases the low salaries are unfair only to the young men and women whom the State compels to attend these classes, and, more important still, unfair to the future of the State.

Immigrants of all nationalities have urged that the employment of their own people as teachers would greatly increase the effectiveness of the evening-school work. Whether or not this is necessary, or even desirable, for the actual teaching of the class, there can be no question that the employment of such teachers would increase the attendance, especially of the adult immigrants. Certainly, if teachers speaking the foreign languages are not employed, interpreters are needed to meet and enroll those pupils who are unable to speak any English, and to help the regular teachers in the first few lessons, at least.

The establishment of part-time schools for those between fourteen and seventeen years of age would help in the solution of the problem of securing teachers for the evening schools. A part-time class in the morning in addition to an evening class,

or a part-time class in the afternoon in addition to an evening class, would furnish regular employment on a full-time basis to many of these teachers. This would mean that teachers could afford to specialize in this particular work. Normal schools would then be willing to offer courses in methods of teaching foreigners, and perhaps we shall have them conducting what has so long been needed, — a model evening school for immigrants. The attention of the normal schools should be insistently called to the need of educational experiments in this neglected field.

A Concrete Example of the Inadequacies of the Present Evening Schools.

A concrete example of the inadequacies of one evening school will show that something more than poorly paid teachers is at the bottom of the difficulties in the present system. One of the large cities, which has as complex a population as any in the State, and perhaps the most isolated and difficult non-family groups, believes that, to use the words of an evening-school official, it has "no problem." Yet, in 1910, 7,259 of its foreign-born white population of ten years of age and over were unable to speak English, — more than twice the number unable to speak English in 1900. Some of its factories employing the largest number of recent immigrants run a day and night shift, and no adjustment of classes is made to meet this need.

In this city one of those responsible for the night schools appeared before the commission and explained that the evening classes of his city were bringing about a knowledge of English "about as rapidly as is desirable." When asked how many who were not compelled to attend by law were in his evening classes, he replied that the question had never excited his curiosity or interest, and was frank enough to admit, when asked what methods were taken to stimulate the attendance of the very large group outside the law, that the schools were "not looking for trouble."

In this city the teachers are paid from \$1.50 to \$2 an evening, and many of them teach in the day schools. The schools are open twenty-three weeks, for five evenings a week. Pupils are often found asleep in the classroom, and the teachers are in-

structed never to awaken them because "nature demands her compensation."

No preparation for naturalization is provided in the course of study, except that on the first evening of their attendance at night school the foreigners unable to speak English are taught to sing "America."

This educator, who, in spite of all these conditions, has "never encountered difficulties or troubles," was unable to see any way in which the classes were falling short of the ideal. With this as the vision of a leader, the work of the \$1.50 teacher may be imagined. The commission's investigator was told by representatives of the various nationalities in this city that many immigrants found themselves too weary to attend; some had never heard of the night schools; and others had attended, but were much discouraged over the lack of progress they were making. This would seem, from the educator's own statement, to be a school in which only the most ambitious, the hopelessly stupid or those whom the State compels to attend would ever be found. .

Evening School needed throughout the Year.

The suggestion that evening schools should continue during the summer months has come to the commission from many sources. This the commission believes to be extremely important. Of the 63 cities and towns which conducted evening schools during the school year 1912-1913, classes were held less than fifty evenings in 28 cities, less than sixty evenings in 15, and sixty evenings or more in 20 cities or towns. As a rule, the session begins in October and closes in March.

When the immigrant comes to the United States he expects, as a matter of course, to learn the English language. After he has been here for a time his attitude often changes. He finds his work hard, and the hours give him little leisure. Many of those with whom he comes in contact at work and in the neighborhood where he lives have been here many years and know only a few English words. They tell him how difficult the English language is to acquire, and he concludes that he will never be able to learn it, and becomes used to getting along without it. It is, therefore, especially important that the immigrants should be enroled in evening school soon after their

arrival. The largest number come in the spring, just as the night schools are closing for six months. For the community to fail to take advantage of this first summer, when the immigrant's eagerness is greatest, is a mistake.

The following letter, which the commission received in August, illustrates the great sacrifice that some immigrants are prepared to make in order to learn English: —

I'm in this country four months (from 14 Mai 1913 — Noniton — Ant-verpen).

I am polish man. I want be american citizen — and took here first paper in 12 June N 625. But my friends are polish people — I must live with them — I work in the shoes-shop with polish people — I stay all the time with them — at home — in the shop — anywhere.

I want live with american people, but I do not know anybody of american. I go 4 times to teacher and must pay \$2 weekly. I wanted take board in english house, but I could not, for I earn only \$5 or 6 in a week, and when I pay teacher \$2, I have only \$4 — \$3 — and now english board house is too dear for me. Better job to get is very hard for me, because I do not speak well english and I cannot understand what they say to me. The teacher teach me — but when I come home — I must speak polish and in the shop also. In this way I can live in your country many years — like my friends — and never speak — write well english — and never be good american citizen. I know here many persons, they live here 10 or moore years, and they are not citizens, they don't speak well english, they don't know geography and history of this contry, they don't know constitution of America. — nothing. I don't like be like them I wanted they help me in english — they could not — because they knew nothing. I want go from them away. But where? Not in the country, because I want go in the city, free evening schools and lern. I'm looking for help. If somebody could give me another job between american people, help me live with them and lern english — and could tell me the best way how I can fast lern — it would be very, very good for me. Perhaps you have somebody, here he could help me?

If you can help me, I please you.

I wrote this letter by myself and I know no good — but I hope you will understand whate I mean.

Excuse me,
F. N.

Irregularity in attendance, one of the serious disadvantages with which the evening school must contend, usually results first in discouragement and finally in abandonment of the idea of ever learning English.

Overtime work during the beginning of the rush season, is usually the most important cause of such irregularity.¹ If the seasonal demands were carefully studied, it would be possible to adjust the terms so that new classes would be advertised as beginning immediately after the rush season was over and many of those who had been compelled to leave could then return to the night school without embarrassment.

If evening schools were open, as they should be, throughout the year, those older men and women whose attendance is voluntary, might not attend all the time, but their net attendance and the general educational results would be very much greater.

Lectures and Books in the Language of the Immigrant.

All immigrants — except those young enough to be in the day schools — should be taught by lectures and by books and leaflets in their own languages, the things that they need to know immediately on their arrival. The North American Civic League for Immigrants has succeeded in convincing some school committees of the practical value of offering lectures on patriotic subjects in the language of the immigrant. Much more than this is necessary. Immigrants should be told something of the factory laws designed for their protection; something of the industrial history of the State, of the prevailing rates of wages in the different trades, and of the regulation of hours of work for women and children; something of the foreign exchange and postal savings departments of the post office; something of health and sanitary regulations. Briefly, instead of being left to learn by bitter experience, they should be instructed in all those things the ignorance of which means not only unnecessary injury and loss to the immigrants, but, through a lowering of standards, to all those with whom they live and work.

Night Schools in Towns Under 10,000 should be required by Law.

The State authorizes, but does not require, the maintenance of evening classes in towns whose population is less than 10,000. In a State like Massachusetts, where the small towns are honey-

¹ Report on Evening Schools of New York City, 1913, pp. 70, 71.

combed with factories an increasingly large per cent of whose employees are recent immigrants, this distinction should never have been made. The illiteracy statistics show the result. According to the census of 1910 there were more persons unable to read and write in any language in towns having a population of less than 10,000 than in those whose population is from 10,000 to 25,000.

The need for evening schools is shown by the number of working-certificates issued for illiterates in these smaller industrial towns. According to reports received by the secretary of the Board of Labor and Industries, 100 of these certificates were issued in Great Barrington, 150 in Hardwick, 366 in Ludlow, 78 in Maynard, 66 in Palmer and 165 in Ware. These figures were reported within three months after the law requiring such certificates went into effect, so that they undoubtedly very greatly understate the number of illiterate minors. In these and many other towns where the need is equally great, no evening school was maintained last year. Out of 299 towns having a population under 10,000, 19 recognized their problem and conducted evening schools last year. In a few other cities classes were conducted by the Young Men's Christian Association, by a woman's club or a church; in two or three cases the local manufacturing corporations have opened evening schools. Occasionally the immigrants themselves form a class and employ a teacher.

In one of the towns having a population of less than 10,000, which the commission investigated, the only effort to give an opportunity for learning English, or to give any lectures on American conditions and institutions, has come from a foreign-speaking branch of the Socialist Party. But even in the few towns in which such private classes exist, these are in no sense a substitute for the public schools; for private schools cannot require the attendance of illiterate minors, and their resources enable them to handle only a small number for a very few weeks during the year.

Peculiar Isolation of the Immigrant in the Smaller Towns.

In some of these smaller communities the night school is especially needed because of the complete isolation of the foreign-born. A statement of the situation in one of these towns,

which is typical of many others, illustrates this fact. In one of the old towns of Massachusetts, which has many generations of American associations, the homes of a summer colony are at one end; in the village proper live the old American residents but not the mill owners; and completely separated from the summer and the village people, by railroad tracks, a marsh and the mill, are the houses where the immigrants live. But the physical separation only typifies the much more serious way in which each of the two groups — the immigrant and the American — fail to touch in experience or understanding the thought and life of the other. These newcomers are going into an occupation which the American, English, Irish and French have been unwilling that their children should follow. Each generation has bent its energies to educate the children so that they would not have to follow the same occupation. The result is industrial, as well as social, isolation, seriously intensified by the language barrier and by the ignorance on each side of the other's history and social traditions.

It might therefore have been expected, when the foreign-born operatives struck in the spring of 1913, that there would be misinterpretation on both sides. It was not difficult to persuade these immigrants that the Americans cared nothing about whether the grievances of which they complained were real or imaginary, and that the town officers were ready to deny them the privileges and protection of which the American is assured. And it was equally easy for the Americans to be convinced that the Greeks and Poles were atheists and anarchists, because, although they had been their neighbors for many years, the Americans had never had even the superficial contact with these foreigners which would have convinced them at once of the reality and vividness of the Greek and Polish religion and patriotism.

In their statement to the Board of Arbitration the strikers complained that no night school was provided, and charged, perhaps quite unjustly, that the representatives of the mill had persuaded the town not to appropriate the money for its continuance. Investigation revealed a very interesting history of the night-school question. Classes were opened a few years ago as a result of the efforts of the Young Men's Christian Association, and were privately supported, the mill being a con-

tributor.¹ The next year the classes were taken over by the school committee, but were given up in 1911 after the passage of the State law, extending from eighteen to twenty-one the age of compulsory attendance for illiterates in towns where an evening school is maintained. The plea was that too many would attend and the expense would be too great. The superintendent, when asked about the possibility of reopening the evening school, said he was afraid he did not have "the real Christian spirit about the foreigners in town, for he was not the least bit interested." In reply to the suggestion that it was not so much a matter of Christian as of civic spirit, he answered that whatever it was, he lacked it. While the evening-school proposition was being discussed and voted on at the town meeting the superintendent proved his lack of interest by not attending the meeting.

A school that taught not only English to the foreign-born of this community, but preparation for citizenship in its larger aspects, and also served as a meeting-place for both American and immigrant, might not have prevented the strike, but it would have prevented the bitter misunderstandings, distrust and disorder, the effects of which will be felt in this community for some time to come. But there is no prospect that such a school will be provided, for the indifference of the superintendent is matched by the statement of the chairman of the school committee that, having decided to open an evening school, "the thing that is troubling the town now is that under the new law so many minors will be forced to attend the evening classes that the town cannot afford or find a place large enough to accommodate them."

There can be no doubt that the cost of adequately providing for the educational needs of the illiterate immigrants over sixteen years of age is more than many of these smaller communities can meet. This town is not unique in its problems, in its failure to appreciate fully what might be done or in its inability to make even an effective beginning on its own initiative.

¹ It should be noted that this does not constitute a disproof of the strikers' charge. The commission has met evidence in other towns that the mill authorities opposed a public night school, but were willing to contribute to a private school because they are not compelled, under the penalty of the law, to discharge their illiterate minor employees who do not attend a private school.

The State's Part in this Larger Educational Program.

Enough has already been said to indicate that for the proper provision for immigrant education experts must work out, by study and by experiments conducted throughout the State, the school problems of classification, methods of instruction and of securing and training proper teachers. The employment of such experts by individual cities or towns is as unnecessary as it is impossible. For the individual city or town to maintain a corps of lecturers speaking the various languages as well as English is also manifestly impossible. Suitable books, pamphlets and lesson leaflets can be prepared without prohibitive cost only for very large numbers. For economical administration State action is therefore necessary. The Commonwealth, through the State Board of Education, must undertake to assist and direct the local communities if provision is to be made for the proper education of the immigrant.

The State should share the Expense of Evening and Part-time Schools for Immigrants.

Massachusetts ranks fifteenth among the States of the Union in its per capita expenditure for school purposes.¹ Local taxation has furnished a very much larger part of the money so expended than in most other States. According to the latest report of the United States Commissioner of Education this Commonwealth contributed by State tax or appropriation only \$214,133 for school purposes. During the same year Pennsylvania, at the other extreme, contributed \$7,340,581, and 30 other States raised more for public school purposes by State tax or appropriation than did Massachusetts.² No one who is familiar with the educational needs of most of the cities and towns of the State would undertake to defend the position that this difference in policy is due to the fact that local communities in Massachusetts are better able to support their schools properly than are local communities in other States.

Following the precedents established in aiding industrial and vocational classes, the State should also assist the cities and

¹ *Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education*, 1912, Vol. II, Table 16, p. 13.

² *Idem*, Table 12, p. 14.

towns to provide the special classes which the presence of the immigrant necessitates. Among the reasons that may be urged for State subsidies for this work are the following: —

1. *The State is peculiarly interested in the Education of the Immigrant.* — While the State is an interested party in any educational program, it is peculiarly so in the case of immigrants who are soon to become citizens, and for whom a special sort of training, quite in addition to the regular education of children, must be provided.

2. *The Immigrant Population is a Changing One.* — Among all non-English speaking immigrants there are large numbers of single men and women. Most of them are without ties and move about from place to place as the labor market changes, — more freely each year, as the wider distribution of their own people makes it easier for them to establish themselves in new places.

The case of a Polish man who has been in this country fourteen years is typical. He lived for two years in Chicopee Falls, then moved to Thompsonville, Conn., then to a small town in Rhode Island, and then back to Thompsonville, and is now living in Springfield. Even the immigrant who brings his family moves much more frequently than the native American. As a result, the place in which the immigrant begins his life in Massachusetts may not be the one in which his real contribution is to be made. It is therefore unfair to make his first place of residence bear the entire expense of his education.

3. *State Taxation results in a More Just Distribution of the Burden.* — The commission considered the difficulties involved in any suggestion for increased expenditure. Unquestionably, municipal, county and State expenditures — most of them necessary, many of them inevitable, some of them inadequate — have reached a point where there must be a halt in progress or else a reorganization of our archaic system of taxation.

Some thought was given to possible means by which the employers of immigrant labor might be called upon to make a special contribution, to be applied directly toward the community cost that the burden of its education imposes; for example, the payment by employers of a certain sum — say 50 cents per week for each illiterate employed — might provide a

fund to be expended by the State in the extension of night, part-time and continuation school work among the illiterates. On the schedule sent out to manufacturers the question was asked whether or not they would favor the requirement that such a fee be paid. It was not expected that many would recognize any special financial obligation for the education of the immigrant, but 133, or 11.6 per cent of those who answered this question, replied that they favored such a law. The administrative — to say nothing of the constitutional — difficulties involved in the carrying out of any such scheme made the various devices that were considered for accomplishing it seem impracticable. A State tax is therefore recognized as more just from this point of view than a local one, since the real estate and the personal property of the owners of an industry are often not found in the town in which it is located.

4. *Local Communities are unable to bear the Whole Expense.* — Immigrants usually come to a city or town where there is a demand for unskilled labor, because even those immigrants who have a skilled trade must usually serve an apprenticeship in the ranks of the unskilled. This means that they are settling in industrial cities and towns where the educational burden is already heavy. The amount of taxable property is relatively small in most of these industrial centers, and therefore with the same sacrifice that is made in richer communities they find themselves unable to provide adequately both for their children — American and foreign-born — and for the adult immigrant. For example, for the school year 1912–1913 the amount appropriated for the support of the public schools for each \$1,000 of valuation of property was \$8.49 in Palmer, \$7.50 in Ware, \$7.19 in Chicopee, \$8.13 in Adams, \$6.26 in Barre, \$7.01 in Maynard and \$5.11 in Fall River, while in Springfield, Boston and Brookline the appropriations were \$4.52, \$3.45 and \$2.30, respectively, for each \$1,000 in valuation. The State cannot in justice ask the former group of cities and towns to make the additional sacrifice that adequate provision for the immigrant population without State aid would require. As the future welfare of the State is identified with the welfare of what is so large a part of its population, the State must undertake to do what the local community finds impossible.

5. *The Basis and Extent of the State's Participation in the Expense of Immigrant Education.* — In the interest of efficiency in the conduct of part-time and evening schools for the education of immigrants, it is important that the local communities and the State share in the responsibility and the expense. The professional aspects of this comparatively new problem demand the best thought of all concerned; the financial burden imposed should be distributed as equitably as possible.

While there are many bases on which the expense of the education of immigrants might be apportioned between the local community and the State, it would seem advisable to make the State's share in this expense dependent in a measure upon the local tax rate for the maintenance of the regular public schools. Carrying out this idea, it is proposed that the State reimburse cities and towns for a portion of their expenditures for the salaries of teachers, principals and supervisory and administrative officers employed in part-time and evening schools, when these are conducted under the general supervision and with the approval of the State Board of Education. The proportion of such expenditures to be reimbursed by the State might range from four-tenths to seven-tenths, on the following basis: —

Where the tax rate for the maintenance of public schools

is: —	Reimbursement
Less than \$4 per \$1,000 of valuation,	Four-tenths
\$4 to \$4.49 per \$1,000 of valuation,	Five-tenths
\$4.50 to \$4.99 per \$1,000 of valuation,	Six-tenths
\$5 and above per \$1,000 of valuation,	Seven-tenths

The Cost of carrying out this Larger Educational Program.

No data are available from which the number of illiterates from fourteen to seventeen, and from seventeen to twenty-one, can be determined at all accurately. Hence it is impossible to make anything better than roughly approximate estimates of the cost of carrying out the plans proposed by the commission for part-time and evening schools. Assuming a certain number of such illiterates, it is possible to estimate with much confidence the cost of providing adequate instruction. In the following attempt to estimate numbers and costs, it is believed that the assumed numbers of illiterates are well within actual

numbers. Should the actual numbers prove to be larger or smaller, the costs would vary in proportion.

In 1910 the number of white persons unable to speak English between fifteen and twenty-one years of age in Massachusetts was 26,576.¹ Since that time, approximately 43,527 immigrants from non-English speaking countries between fourteen and twenty-one years of age have come to the State. Adding these two numbers we should have 70,103 who, according to the Massachusetts definition of illiteracy, are illiterate minors.

It should be noted, however, that each year since 1910, when the federal census figures were made up, a certain portion of the illiterates then enumerated have passed the age of twenty-one, so that they would not now come under the proposed law of compulsory evening-school attendance; all of those who were over seventeen in 1910 have now passed that age, so that of that number none would come within the group for which part-time schools are proposed. It is also probable that a small percentage who are still under twenty-one have now become literate, so that they would not come under the proposed law for compulsory attendance.

On the other hand, the State standard of literacy (completion of the fourth-school grade) is more than a mere ability to speak English, so the figures of the 1910 census make the number of illiterates from fifteen to twenty far too small.

Also, it must be borne in mind that the estimated number of arrivals since 1910 should be reduced somewhat, on account of the passing beyond the age of twenty-one of a portion of the arrivals of 1911 and 1912. On the other hand, a certain number of illiterates arriving under fourteen, say from twelve to fourteen, will become fourteen, and so become subject to the part-time schooling provisions before they achieve literacy.

After weighing all these considerations we may assume, somewhat arbitrarily, that there are in the State at present 46,000 illiterates between fourteen and twenty-one years of age.

If there were an equal number for each year of age there would be, between fourteen and seventeen, — three years, — three-sevenths of the entire number, or 19,714. But the

¹ U. S. *Thirteenth Census* (1910), Vol. I, *Population*, p. 1280, Table 21.

numbers in these lower years are undoubtedly much smaller than in the higher years, for reasons of constantly increasing age, as cited above, and from the fact that not as many immigrants come at fourteen, fifteen and sixteen as at seventeen, eighteen and nineteen years of age. Hence we may assume again, rather arbitrarily, that the number of illiterates from fourteen to seventeen now in the State is about 6,000; this leaves 40,000 illiterates from seventeen to twenty-one.

We shall take these figures as a basis in estimating the cost of maintaining the schools required by the proposed legislation.¹ Let us assume that, on the average, one-half of the children from fourteen to seventeen would not be employed, and so would be required to attend two sessions of the part-time school each day. This condition would make it necessary to provide a single session of school each day for the equivalent of 9,000 children.

The number of pupils per teacher in these part-time schools should not average over 18; in the beginners classes, 12 to 15 would be as many as could be taught well, but the higher classes might run to 20 or 25. On this basis of 18 pupils per teacher, it would require 500 teachers, each teaching one session per day, to care for the part-time children.

In addition to the part-time day work, each of these 500 teachers should teach a class in evening school, meeting at least three times a week, as provided in the proposed law. Hence, we have here 500 teachers available for evening school work.

How many evening school teachers would be required for the instruction of 40,000 illiterates? The evening school classes should not average more than 15 pupils; on this basis there would be necessary, in round numbers, 2,700 teachers. Hence, there would be needed 2,200 teachers in addition to the 500 part-time day school teachers.

Besides the classroom teachers, supervising principals would be necessary, and in the larger cities, supervisors or assistant superintendents in charge of this type of work. We may estimate one supervising principal for every 15 teachers. This would give 150 principals for the 2,200 evening school teachers

¹ See proposed act, p. 217.

and 33 principals for the 500 part-time day and evening school teachers.

In each of the larger cities — perhaps 10 in all — there should be a supervisor or assistant superintendent in charge of part-time and evening schools.

Summary of Requirements.

Part-time and evening school teachers,	500
Part-time and evening school principals,	33
Evening school teachers,	2,200
Evening school principals,	150
Supervisors or assistant superintendents,	10

Salaries.

500 part-time and evening school teachers at \$900,	\$450,000
33 part-time and evening school principals at \$1,500,	49,500
2,200 evening school teachers at \$2 per evening (one hundred and twenty evenings in the forty-week school year), or \$240 per year,	528,000
150 evening school principals at \$4 per evening, or \$480 per year,	72,000
10 supervisors or assistant superintendents at \$2,000 per year,	20,000
Total,	\$1,119,500

The above provides only for the compulsory schools that the proposed law contemplates. A low estimate of voluntary evening school attendants — literate minors and both literate and illiterate adults — would be one-half the number of compulsory evening school attendants, or 20,000. As they could be taught in somewhat larger classes, the cost of their instruction may be estimated at \$250,000. This gives a total estimate of \$1,369,500 for teaching under the provisions of the proposed legislation.

On the basis of the proposed scale of State reimbursement,¹ ranging from four-tenths to seven-tenths of the expenditure for teachers' salaries, assume that the average rate of reimbursement is five and one-half tenths, or 55 per cent. On this basis the cost of instruction to the State would be \$753,225.

Adequate provision on the part of the State for administer-

¹ See p. 142.

ing, inspecting and supervising this type of education, through a deputy commissioner, agents and clerks, together with some provision for training teachers through institutes and normal schools, would require an expenditure of probably \$30,000; the maintenance of schools in construction camps might cost \$5,000 more, making a total estimated cost to the State for maintaining the education proposed of \$788,225.

What will be the net cost — after State reimbursement — to the cities and towns? It is a fair estimate that the expenditure for teachers' salaries will be 80 per cent of the total expenditure. On this basis the expenses other than salaries — expenses which the cities and towns will have to bear without State aid — will amount to \$342,375; the net amount of salaries — after State reimbursement — to be borne locally will be \$616,275, making a total cost of \$958,650.

During the school year 1912-1913 the cities and towns of the State spent a total of \$389,789.15 on the evening classes which were maintained. For most of the cities and towns which are now conducting evening classes this plan will involve a comparatively small increase in the net local expenditure for evening schools. The illiterate minors between fourteen and sixteen are being educated at present in the day schools, full time. Providing part-time classes for this group as proposed, will certainly not require a net local expenditure larger than the present. The education of the sixteen-year-old illiterates in part-time classes involves a new expense; also those communities which have conducted no night schools in the past will have a new expense. The expenditure of \$788,225, which it is estimated the State should contribute, if a reasonable opportunity to prepare for citizenship is offered the immigrant population of Massachusetts, will be a new expense for the State.

C. THE SCHOOL AS A NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER.

The use of the school as a social and civic center for neighborhood development should do much for the immigrant. For the children the "centers" offer a good time under good influences, as a substitute for dangerous commercialized recreation. Here the older immigrants also should find the fellowship

and the recreation they need. Language should be no barrier, because clubs could be formed for different nationalities until the latter have acquired sufficient English to enable them to join the general groups. In these clubs the immigrant should be helped to consider and to understand in the light of his own experience the most fundamental problems of our international, national and city life.

And here, in the neighborhood where they live and where they have been prepared for citizenship, their naturalization papers should be given them, with some fitting ceremony that would impress both old and new citizens with the solemn responsibilities inseparable from citizenship.

If each nationality were encouraged to make its own peculiar contribution, musical, literary and political, the benefits of our complex population might be conserved through these centers. Perhaps, also, it may not be too much to hope that the ideals on which this government was founded may find concrete expression in our relations with one another.

Section 2. Private Schools and the Immigrant.

The school is the civic agency that most directly comes in contact with the immigrant, that most inspires his confidence and that can most effectively accomplish the essential result — assimilation — which makes him an integral part of the community in which he lives.

Therefore, the efforts of those schools endeavoring to fulfill this duty to the State should be stimulated and encouraged, while those schools ignoring, neglecting or indifferent to it should at once be aroused to a thorough realization of their obligation.

Public-school effort to teach the immigrants the English language, and at least a rudimentary knowledge of American and social ideals, has been discussed. Private schools also have an important part in the education of the immigrant children. Of these the most important are the parochial schools. Their development is inspired by a spiritual motive, which, together with the unselfish devotion of the large corps of teachers who voluntarily have consecrated their lives to its advancement, is worthy of the highest respect. Whether or not we agree as

to the desirability of such racial and religious segregation within the community as the parochial system necessitates, we cannot but admire the religious sincerity, the self-denial and the generosity of the masses, who, from their scanty possessions, give unstintedly to the upbuilding of an educational system which holds spiritual development to be of far greater importance than material progress and which seeks to inculcate love and respect for God, for country, for authority and for fellowmen.

The large number (over 200) of parochial schools throughout the State may be divided into two groups: first, those in which the teaching is conducted in English exclusively, and second, those in which some of the instruction is conducted in English and some in a foreign language.

Schools of the first group were not investigated by the commission. Like the public schools, many of these enroll children of non-English speaking parentage, and like the public schools they are affording those children the associations and all the advantages of instruction that they are affording the native-born.

In the second group, 39 schools in 19 different towns and cities in Massachusetts were visited. The almost universal rule in these schools is to teach in English for half a day, and in Polish, Italian, Portuguese, French or Greek for half a day. These bilingual schools, of which there are over 90 in Massachusetts, present a problem of much difficulty, involving both religious and national motives deeply rooted in the heart and mind of the foreign-speaking peoples, and entitled to sympathetic recognition by the entire community. The problem, moreover, includes highly important social, financial and economic considerations. In some instances it is being successfully solved.

Teachers in all these schools have to deal with a perplexing situation, inasmuch as the pupils when they first enter rarely speak English, and in instruction precedence is given to subjects conducted in their native tongue. The complication is increased by reason of the fact that many of these teachers have but a limited knowledge of the English language; comparatively few speak it fluently, some do not speak it at all. Such lay teachers as are employed are, generally speaking, wholly unqualified. In certain schools of one nationality, conducted

wholly by lay teachers, the instruction, discipline and results are a mere travesty of even rudimentary educational methods. Under such conditions proper progress in English or any other study is impossible.

The atmosphere of any one of these schools depends mainly upon the attitude of the pastor of the church with which it is connected. While some of these pastors are thoroughly imbued with American ideals, the majority are of foreign birth, education and training, so intensely devoted to their native land that their patriotism permits no divided allegiance; hence any special emphasis upon the study of English or upon American traditions and ideals, which often the Superior in immediate charge would gladly undertake, does not enlist their sympathy or meet with their approval.

Furthermore, while we have the greatest respect for the exalted character, disinterested service and untiring zeal of the teachers, we must regretfully declare that in very many cases they are not equipped by previous training (often excellent in their own language and literature), by familiarity with American civic or social ideals, or with the stress of modern economic pressure, to impress sympathetically upon the understanding of their pupils the fundamental knowledge which is required alike in the interests of the State and of the future industrial life of the pupils themselves. In some instances the atmosphere is so intensely foreign that progress in acquiring English is deprecated rather than encouraged.

In drawing comparisons between these and other schools the element of time must be considered; for as the system of parochial schools and, particularly of bilingual schools, is comparatively young, it could hardly be expected that these privately maintained schools should be able to make as rapid progress in the character of their buildings and equipment as those schools maintained by the public purse.

While a large number of the school buildings are of excellent construction in every respect, and many may be rated as reasonably good, some were not originally erected for school purposes; they are distinctly bad in lighting, and in ventilation and are positively injurious to the physical well-being of the children.

The financial resources of these schools — mainly the voluntary offerings of poorly paid wage earners — are utterly inadequate to the magnitude of the work undertaken. This financial handicap may be regarded as the principal cause of the inability of so many of these schools to approach modern educational requirements in housing, in limiting the size of classes to reasonable numbers, in the character of textbooks used, or in the employment of a sufficient number of thoroughly efficient lay teachers to offset the scarcity of teachers of the religious orders.

When we consider the comparatively inelastic character of the wages of the groups who support these schools, and the increasing cost of living, it is difficult to see how the revenues upon which these schools depend can be greatly enlarged.

The beneficent influence of the spiritual training received, and of the constant example of simple dignity and refinement which these teachers afford, is evidenced by the unusual degree of respect and courtesy which marks the conduct of the pupils toward their superiors in age or in authority, and is worthy of special recognition.

That the knowledge of a second language has cultural advantages is beyond dispute, and should be encouraged, for in the history, traditions, literature and art of the various nations there is much that would enrich American life. But it is not in the pursuit of culture that the overwhelming majority of these children are to spend their lives. The far more practical and far more difficult problem of bread-winning is the one to which — day in and day out — they will be forced to devote their unremitting attention. It is therefore of vital importance to them, as well as to the State, that they should be fitted in the best possible manner for this daily bread-and-butter struggle. As they succeed or fail in this they will become an asset or a liability of the State, for, waiving other grave possibilities, there inevitably will be a marked increase in dependence resulting from the premature physical and mental breakdown of those who, from lack of proper training, are forever unable to escape from the most exhausting and the poorest-paid occupations.

It is therefore of importance to the Commonwealth that in the secular instruction in these schools, the study of English

should be given first place, and that all studies, except religion and the native language of the children, should be conducted in the English language. The study of the foreign language should be made clearly subordinate to that of English. It should be possible to follow this plan without serious interference with the spiritual or national motive of these schools.

Attendance at public schools or at approved private schools is required by law of the Commonwealth. This law places upon the local school committees the obligation of approving private schools, "when the instruction in all the studies required by law is in the English language, and when they are satisfied that such instruction equals in thoroughness and efficiency, and in progress made therein, the public schools in the same city or town."¹ For obvious reasons, such as local influence, political expediency and in some cases indifference, the school committees make no pretence of fulfilling this obligation and, under existing conditions, there is no prospect that they ever will.

The task of gradually bringing these schools up to the desired standard is one calling for infinite wisdom, tact and patience, as well as for clear comprehension and sympathetic recognition of the aspirations of the people who voluntarily support them. In such a spirit the task should be begun at once, and plans in the best interest of all concerned should be worked out harmoniously. As the local school committees have not even attempted to perform this task, the commission recommends that this responsibility be vested in the State Board of Education, as provided in the bill that is submitted with this report.²

Section 3. The Public Library and the Immigrant.

Every town in Massachusetts, with one exception, has some sort of public library. That these libraries should be an important factor in the education of the immigrant there can be no question. Experience has shown that the only way in which the adult immigrant can be introduced to the library is through books and papers in his own language. These should be fiction and other books of the same general type as those offered to the American reader, and in addition, books also in

¹ *Revised Laws of Massachusetts*, ch. 44, sec. 2.

² See p. 223.

his own language, giving the history of the United States and discussions of the most important public questions.

At the request of the Free Public Library Commission the Legislature of 1913 authorized the appointment of a special agent by that Commission and appropriated \$2,000 for the development of this work. Since August a librarian with wide experience among the foreign-born has been visiting the different cities and towns that have a large immigrant population, in order to interest both the foreign colonies and the officers of the library in an extension of the library's patronage among these people.

Complete statistics have not yet been secured by the Free Public Library Commission, but of 99 libraries reporting a foreign-speaking population in their territory, only 61 have any foreign books. Boston with books in 29 languages, and Springfield and Worcester with books in 22 languages, have the largest number of foreign books. Many of the libraries in the smaller industrial towns feel that they have insufficient funds to warrant the purchase of books which would be something of an experiment; others that have the money find great difficulty in learning what books to purchase; and still others do not know how to inform the immigrant as to what the public library has to offer him.

On all of these questions the agent of the Free Public Library Commission has furnished expert advice. For the benefit of the smaller communities, 19 traveling libraries of foreign books have been sent out by the commission, and 2 especially chosen libraries have been furnished to construction camps. This is, however, only a beginning of what should be done. More books should be provided, so that the interest of the immigrant, once aroused, may be used to further his acquaintance with the language and life of the people among whom he lives.

This commission therefore recommends that the Free Public Library Commission receive an increased appropriation, so that it may greatly extend the traveling foreign library feature of its work.

CHAPTER VII.

NATURALIZATION.

The question as to whether the immigrants who come to Massachusetts are to remain aliens or to become citizens is of great importance to the State. The requirements for citizenship are fixed by the United States government, but the civic education of those who are to become voters, and their preparation for sharing in the responsibilities of citizenship, must be undertaken by the State or by the local community. Moreover, although the requirements for naturalization are a federal matter, the question as to who is to be permitted to vote is decided by the State. In Massachusetts, at the present time, a citizen cannot vote unless he is able to read the constitution of the Commonwealth in the English language.¹ It is a question, however, whether such ability is, in itself, evidence of the extent of the applicant's educational qualification. Therefore, it would appear not unreasonable to require that the minimum qualification for voting shall be the attainment of literacy as defined in the Massachusetts statutes.

Requirements for Citizenship.

The lack of uniformity of procedure in the different States of the Union, and the large amount of fraud practiced, led to the passage of the naturalization law of 1906, by which the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization was created. By limiting to courts of record jurisdiction over naturalization, and by providing for the examination of petitions for naturalization, the law of 1906 added to the dignity of becoming a citizen of the United States, and decreased the likelihood of fraud. It also made naturalization more difficult; the requirements are higher and the expense greater.²

¹ *Revised Laws of Massachusetts*, ch. 11, sec. 12.

² According to the provisions of the law of 1906 the immigrant may declare his intention of becoming a citizen at any time after he is eighteen years old. He is required to give facts concerning his age, birthplace, residence, etc., and also the details of his arrival. His petition for naturalization may be made after two years have passed from the time of his declaration of intention and after five years' continuous residence in this country; it must be signed in his own handwriting. In order to prove his residence he must produce two witnesses who have known him for a period of at least five years. The fees amount to \$5; \$1 at the time of filing the petition and \$4 on receiving the certificate of naturalization. No alien who does not speak English may be naturalized.

Courts of Naturalization limited in Massachusetts.

The United States statutes give the right to naturalize to any United States District Court or to any State court of record. In Massachusetts, however, the Legislature has limited the rights of the inferior courts, and permits the power of naturalization to be exercised only by the Superior Courts of the State, and of course, by the United States District Court. In Suffolk County naturalization papers are granted only by the United States District Court in Boston; in every other county in the State the State Superior Court sits for naturalization at least once during the year. In several counties, hearings are held in more than one city so that persons may be naturalized in 23 cities of the State, including Boston. The hearings are infrequent; in only one or two cases does a Superior Court sit for naturalization in the same city more than twice a year. The United States District Court has from fifty to seventy-five naturalization hearings in the course of a year, depending upon the number of applicants.

Limiting to any such extent the number of courts having jurisdiction over naturalization is not a practice common to most of the States. In 1912 there were only 8 other States where there were so few courts exercising the power of naturalization as in Massachusetts, while there were only 3 States — New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois — where there were more certificates of naturalization issued.¹ In Illinois, where only about one thousand more certificates were issued than in Massachusetts, there were 115 courts with jurisdiction over naturalization as compared with 18 in Massachusetts. The United States Examiner for Naturalization in New England approves this limitation in the number of naturalization courts, for he believes that the work is managed better by a few courts, and that the possibility of fraud is thus reduced to a minimum.

From other persons, however, complaints were received by the commission of the greater cost and inconvenience resulting from the fact that fewer courts are now given jurisdiction.

The distance that the immigrant sometimes has to travel to procure his naturalization papers doubtless deters some from

¹ *Annual Report of the U. S. Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1912, p. 194.*

making the attempt to become citizens. In Worcester County, for example, a man living in Athol must go fifty miles to Fitchburg to be naturalized. A Finn living in a small town in the eastern part of the State said that few of his countrymen could afford to be naturalized. He himself had to pay his two witnesses each \$5 a day for two days, in addition to the car fare to Boston and the loss of two days' work for himself. The cost of the immigrant's own railroad fare in these cases is not large, but when trebled in order to pay for the witnesses, and taken in conjunction with the loss of the day's wages, it becomes a serious matter for the average immigrant.

Even when the immigrant lives in the city in which the court is held, the time that he and his witnesses must lose from their work is sufficient to be an important consideration with him. In some courts a great effort is made to waste as little of the immigrant's time as possible; in one city, at least, the day is divided into periods, and men of certain nationalities are told to come at certain hours so that they may be attended to as swiftly as possible. But in most courts the applicant loses considerable working time.

As there is no intention or desire on the part of the government to make the securing of naturalization papers inconvenient for those who have qualified for citizenship, these complaints should be given careful consideration. It is believed that Saturday afternoon or night sessions of the court would meet the difficulty.

Numbers naturalized in Massachusetts.

In spite of the higher standard for naturalization, fixed by the law of 1906, there has been no falling off in the numbers who are being naturalized in Massachusetts, as is shown by the following table. Attention is called to the fact that the number of petitions for naturalization that have been filed, and of certificates of naturalization that have been issued, during the last two years is more than equal to that of the four preceding years.

TABLE 17. — *Declarations of Intention and Petitions for Naturalization filed, and Certificates of Naturalization issued, Fiscal Years ended June 30, 1907-1912.*¹

	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.
Declarations,	4,845	9,327	10,024	11,985	12,773	12,766
Petitions,	1,023	2,463	2,830	3,359	4,462	5,806
Certificates,	383	1,677	2,453	3,048	2,879	4,608

In the investigation of the commission, personal histories were obtained from 1,059 male immigrants. Of these, 68 were naturalized and 177 others had made their declarations of intention; that is, 245, or 25 per cent of the whole number, were either citizens or had declared their intention of becoming citizens. In connection with the small percentage who had become citizens it must be remembered that the investigation was especially concerned with the immigrant who was a recent arrival; 42 per cent of all visited had been in this country less than five years, and 71 per cent less than ten years. The investigation of the commission was not sufficiently extensive to justify using it as a basis for drawing conclusions as to the relative desire shown by men of different nationalities to become citizens of the United States. It was found, however, that there was a considerably larger percentage naturalized among the Russian Jews than among any of the other nationalities with which the commission was especially concerned.

Certificates of Naturalization denied.

The following table gives the reasons for the denial of certificates of naturalization during the last three years for which figures are available: —

¹ Compiled from the *Annual Reports of the U. S. Commissioner-General of Immigration*.

TABLE 18. — *Certificates of Naturalization denied in Massachusetts during the Three Years ended June 30, 1912, together with the Reason for Denial.*¹

Want of prosecution, ²	387
Incompetent witnesses,	48
Ignorance,	35
Insufficient residence,	24
Immoral character,	23
No jurisdiction,	13
Premature petitions,	10
Already a citizen,	6
Other reasons,	63
<hr/>	
Total number of certificates denied,	609
Total number of certificates granted,	10,535
Percentage of denials,	5.9

The failure of each one of the 609 men to receive certificates has of course kept others from applying, as many are discouraged by the difficulties to be encountered and by the final failure of their friends to become citizens.

It will be noted that the two most frequent reasons for the denial of certificates, barring "want of prosecution," are "incompetent witnesses" and "ignorance." Doubtless, also, in a large number of the 387 cases under "want of prosecution," the case was not prosecuted because of one of these two reasons: the foreigner was unable to produce the necessary witness, or his ignorance left him little hope of passing the tests.

Preparation for Naturalization.

So far as the interests of the State are concerned, proper preparation for naturalization is a highly important consideration. The 1,059 male immigrants interviewed in the course of the investigation made by the commission were questioned as to what, if any, preparation they had had for naturalization. Two hundred and forty-five were either citizens or had filed their declaration of intention, but only 24 said that they had been prepared in any way. In most of these 24 cases preparation meant little; a few had attended night school with citizenship

¹ Compiled from the *Annual Reports of the U. S. Commissioner-General of Immigration*.

² That is, failure to prosecute their claims.

in view, several were studying English at home, and the rest were attempting to prepare themselves by learning the Constitution or reading American history or books on civics. A young Russian Jew, who had been in this country six years, said that he had practiced writing his name and had read a part of the Constitution before applying for his first papers. Another Russian Jew, an older man, said that he was expecting to get his final papers the following week. He had read a few pages of United States history, and his wife was teaching him and urging him to "learn the Constitution and civil government." A Pole who was out of work was found laboriously spelling through a United States history. Another man, who was attempting to study for his second papers, complained that he found it very difficult because few of his friends were willing to help him.

A knowledge of their inability to measure up to the standard for citizenship keeps many foreigners from taking any steps toward naturalization; this is shown by some of the answers to the question asked the immigrants, as to why they had not been naturalized. Out of approximately 800 men who had taken no steps toward naturalization, 132 said that they could not meet the requirements for citizenship, either because they knew no English or because they could not write; 24 gave as a reason uncertainty as to methods of naturalization; while 8 said merely that it was too difficult to be considered. The facts given in the schedules were corroborated by testimony at the hearings. At one of the Boston hearings a Syrian priest spoke emphatically of the desire of his countrymen to be citizens, of their lack of knowledge of the necessary procedure, and their difficulty in acquiring sufficient English.

The fact that the immigrant who desires to become a citizen of the United States needs assistance can hardly be questioned. How can he, wearied by long hours of work, unaccustomed to study, and unfamiliar with the language and customs of the country, prepare himself for naturalization by poring over the Constitution in the hope of learning the duties of American citizenship? The standard for naturalization should not be lowered. In practice, however, it is not at present met; nor will the examination given ever meet the standard set up in the law until the immigrant

who is in earnest is given a proper opportunity to prepare to pass the required tests.

In Massachusetts the preparation of the foreigner for naturalization has been left almost entirely to private agencies and societies. In several of the social settlements of Boston classes in naturalization are held, and some work is being done in various parts of the State through such organizations as the Daughters of the American Revolution, and, on a much larger scale, by the North American Civic League for Immigrants and by the Young Men's Christian Association.¹

To a limited extent the foreigners also attempt to prepare each other for citizenship.² There are naturalization clubs in Massachusetts among Italians, Poles, Lithuanians, Finns and French-Canadians. Typical examples are found in Lynn. The Italian Naturalization Society of that city is incorporated and has 78 members. It has club rooms in the down-town district, where from time to time lectures are given. Twenty members of the club have become fully naturalized, and many have their first papers. The Polish society is also incorporated and has 98 members, of whom 48 are fully naturalized. This club reports that it holds lectures each winter in Polish and English, and in 1913 a class of 35 was given lessons in English by the president of the club. When members who are ready for naturalization cannot meet the cost, the club pays the witness fees and transportation, and compensates the witnesses for loss of wages.

In communities where the French-Canadian population is large and long established, these naturalization clubs are losing their original features. For instance, in one city the twelve naturalization societies which formerly existed are now organizations more or less political in character.

¹ During the year 1912-1913, the Young Men's Christian Association conducted 17 classes in naturalization in 13 cities and towns of the State, and between November 1, 1912, and November 1, 1913, assisted 500 men to get final papers, and about 300 to take out first papers; 11 nationalities were represented in their naturalization classes. The North American Civic League has as one of its aims the interesting of immigrants in the "requirements of American citizenship." The direct results of its attempt to prepare men for citizenship are evident in the cities where it has been doing work along this line in connection with the public schools.

² See ch. XI, sec. 2, Organizations among Immigrants for Self-help.

The Public Evening Schools should prepare for Naturalization.

The work of preparation for naturalization is too important to be left to the more or less irregular efforts of the clubs and private societies, which at best can reach only a comparatively small number of people. Logically, the public school should undertake this work. An attempt was made to find out to what extent this was being done by the schools of the State. Outside of Boston reports were received from the superintendents of 67 cities and towns that had evening schools in 1912-1913. Nine of these superintendents reported classes preparing for naturalization, some of which seem to have been general classes in history and civics. In some schools the necessary information was given in an incidental way throughout the course; in other schools, where no definite effort was made to instruct a class as a whole, advice was offered any pupils who manifested a desire to be naturalized.

In few cases, however, even in cities and towns where evening schools are held, is it possible for the foreigner to gain through the public school the information necessary for naturalization, or to prepare for it in any definite way beyond the acquisition of the ability to speak English and to read and write. In 283 cities or towns of this State where there are no evening schools, no provision whatever is made by the public for the assistance of the immigrant who wishes to prepare for citizenship. That many immigrants would gladly take advantage of such assistance seems evident from the use they make of the private societies. The investigators in the course of their visits were frequently questioned both as to the method of becoming naturalized and as to the possibility of joining study classes in preparation for the tests.

Naturalization Ceremony needed.

Appreciation of the responsibilities of citizenship would be increased if some sort of impressive ceremony were used when the final papers are granted. This is the only way in which old-world people accustomed to dignified official procedure can be taught to feel that they are entering upon a new period of their lives. Many of those who feel very solemnly the change



A class of illiterate Italians from sixteen to twenty-four years of age working at desks intended for children of ten.

in their allegiance are shocked at the informality of the present procedure, and the whole thing seems to them to have been made coarse and cheap.¹ Where a ceremony has been tried the effect has been found most wholesome.

Recommendations.

The commission therefore recommends: —

1. That literacy as defined in the Massachusetts statutes shall be the minimum educational qualification for participation in the suffrage in this State.

2. That an investigation be made as to whether the reduction in the number of courts of naturalization in Massachusetts has resulted in unnecessary hardship to the immigrant. If the State Board of Immigration hereinafter recommended be created, it could make such investigation.

3. That the Superior Courts of the Commonwealth and the United States District Courts try the experiment of holding night sessions of the courts of naturalization.

4. That the public evening schools of the State give special training for naturalization.

5. That certificates of naturalization be formally presented with a ceremony calculated to impress both the immigrant and the American with the dignity and importance of citizenship.

¹ Certificates were formally granted with speeches and patriotic music in the assembly hall of the high school of Lawrence twice last year before a large number of native and naturalized Americans and newly arrived immigrants. It is expected that the custom will be continued.

CHAPTER VIII.

**PROTECTION AGAINST ABUSES AND FRAUDS TO WHICH
THE IMMIGRANT IS PECULIARLY LIABLE.****Section 1. Arrival and Transit.**

The development of the port of Boston will increase the need of protecting the immigrant on his arrival and during his transit through Massachusetts, for with the increase in the number of steamers arriving the number of immigrants entering at Boston will also greatly increase. It is therefore highly important for the Commonwealth to consider whether it is properly meeting the human responsibility which comes with the development of its commercial policy. As the admission of immigrants is a federal matter, the conditions surrounding their release are also largely under federal control. But wherever the United States authority or supervision stops, the responsibility of the State begins, so it is necessary to determine the extent to which the federal government is providing adequate care and protection for those who arrive at the port of Boston, or who arrive at some other port and come to Massachusetts.

THE UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION STATION.

The United States Immigration Station in Boston is on Long Wharf at the foot of State Street. Here immigrants who fail to pass primary inspection on the docks, and who are held for observation of their physical or mental condition, are detained until their friends or relatives can be heard from, or until the Secretary of Labor has decided an appeal which has been taken from the decision of the local Commissioner of Immigration as to their eligibility for admission into the United States.

These detention quarters are disgracefully inadequate, and would be extremely dangerous in the event of fire. Two appropriations for a new station have been made, — one of \$150,000 in 1910, and another of \$125,000 in 1911. Of this \$275,000, \$64,000 has been spent in the purchase of a site in

East Boston, but nothing more has been done. In view of the shocking conditions prevailing on Long Wharf, this long continued administrative inactivity is wholly inexcusable.

CONDITIONS ON THE DOCKS.

Unfortunately, the inspection of immigrants by the federal government, to determine whether or not they shall be admitted, is not conducted at any one place in Boston as it is at Ellis Island. On the East Boston, Charlestown and Commonwealth (South Boston) docks a room is equipped for the inspection of the immigrants, and this room is entirely under the control of the United States immigration officials. Next it is a general waiting-room for third-class and steerage passengers. From the inspecting room the public is excluded, in order that there may be no possible coaching of the immigrants for their examination. Admission to the waiting-room is denied all except those who hold custom passes. In so far, then, as the public is excluded from the docks in Boston, it is in the interest of the enforcement of the immigration and the tariff regulations. At Ellis Island the protection of the immigrant is also considered.

In Boston, after the immigrant has passed inspection, he is regarded as needing assistance and direction no more than the cabin passengers. That very much more is necessary for the bewildered immigrant there can be no question. The waiting-room in which he finds himself when admitted is a scene of hopeless confusion. Those who are to remain in Boston are not separated from those who are going farther. Certain favored immigrant bankers and agents of transfer companies mingle with the crowd and add to the confusion. There is no uniform method of handling the baggage, and those who bring orders for railroad tickets to their destination, and those who must purchase them here, are not systematically passed along to the different officials with whom they must deal.

MORE SUPERVISION OF THE RELEASE OF THOSE DESTINED TO BOSTON NECESSARY.

Some of the immigrants who are going to friends in or near Boston — the very young or those who have suspicious addresses — are detained by the United States officials until their

friends have been notified to call for them; but the great majority are released after primary inspection. As soon as his baggage has been examined the average immigrant is free to leave. Here is where his confusion begins. He has no way of knowing whether or not his friends and relatives are waiting for him in the crowd outside the docks, unless it happens that a representative of one of the private societies offers to go through the crowd for him, calling out the name of the person whom he expects. The helplessness of the young immigrant woman who plunges into this crowd alone can be appreciated.

The employees of transfer companies also solicit patronage in the third-class waiting-room, and occasionally obtain money from the immigrants on all sorts of false pretences.

Representatives of some of the immigrant banks are admitted to the docks, and as the immigrants come out of the inspection room take in charge not only those whose prepaid tickets were purchased at the "bank" they represent, but others also. These they take first to the bank and then to their relatives or friends. Some of these bankers claim that they make no charge for taking an immigrant from the dock to his address, but evidence to the contrary was found. For example, a Polish girl arrived on the "Hanover" at the Commonwealth Pier in November. She was going to a South Boston address, but was taken by an immigrant banker to his establishment on Salem Street, in the North End, charged 75 cents, and then placed on a street car and left to find the South Boston address alone.

In this case the girl brought an address other than that of the banker who took her from the dock, but many are admitted who have only a bank or steamship agency address. These immigrant bankers and ticket agents, for obviously commercial reasons, encourage those in America who are sending for their relatives or friends to give the address of the bank. This practice should be discouraged by the government, as investigation shows that the banker seldom knows what has become of girls who gave his address on the manifest sheets.

An investigator for the commission, together with two men and two women immigrants, was put in a cab by another of the immigrant bankers on one of the docks. Each of these five

persons paid the banker \$1 before they started, and besides this the driver demanded 50 cents from each when they reached their destination. The legal fare was 50 cents in each case. The driver could not find the friends of the investigator at the address he showed, and with complete absence of responsibility left the "immigrant" to shift for himself in the crowd that gathered around him.

This situation has several ugly aspects. The privileges given the bankers on the dock may, as in this case, help to build up the control which is so many times abused;¹ illegal fares are collected and, most serious of all, a person supposed to be entirely ignorant of the language and the city, may be abandoned when friends are not to be found. Failure to find the relative or friend is a very frequent occurrence. Many immigrants who arrive bring incorrect addresses. Polish girls frequently come with what proves to be an old or incorrect address of some one from their village. For example, the records at the office of the Commissioner of Immigration show that a Polish girl of eighteen arrived on the "Cleveland" in November, and was going to her father at 51 Beckford Street, Roxbury. Investigation later on showed that the man was unknown at that address and the girl had never been heard of.

A Lithuanian girl, twenty-one years of age, who arrived on the "Laconia" during the same month, according to the records, was going to her brother at 164 St. Clair Street, Boston. When an effort was made, by an investigator for the commission, to verify her arrival it was discovered that there is no such street in Boston, and although St. Charles and several other streets were tried, the girl could not be found. Both of these girls may have been met at the dock and taken to the correct address of their relatives, but the official records do not show, as they should, whether this was or was not the case.

If a girl's friends cannot be found, a cabman is certainly not the one who should be trusted to arrange for her care. The drivers employed by the bankers and transfer companies on the dock are picked up when a boat arrives, and employed at a fixed price, usually 20 or 25 cents an hour. It would not be surprising if these men had no interest in the delivery of the

¹ See sections on Safeguarding Immigrant Savings, pp. 175 ff., Employment Agencies, pp. 33 ff., and Construction Camps, pp. 69 ff.

immigrant, beyond the day's wages and the illegal fee which they may be able to collect. No record of the names or addresses of the immigrants is kept by the immigrant banker or transfer company, so there is no check on the drivers.

Immigrants whose friends cannot be traced are sometimes brought to one of the agencies working among immigrants. The superintendent says she never raises the question as to the fares charged, as this might mean that the girls would not be brought to her in the future, and she thinks their moral safety more important than the prevention of financial exploitation. With proper supervision of the release of the immigrants, moral and financial exploitation could both be avoided.

Only by official control of this situation can proper protection be given. Those who are going beyond Boston should be separated from those who are to remain. Representatives of bankers and transfer companies should be kept out of the crowd. Those who call for immigrants should furnish some identification, and their names and addresses should be recorded. The federal immigration authorities should keep a record of the immigrants who are delivered by cabmen, together with the name and number of the cabmen. These cabmen should be required to report back any addresses at which immigrants were left other than the ones recorded when they were taken from the dock. The keeping of this record would in itself prevent many of the practices which are now so general. If an investigator representing, for instance, the proposed Board of Immigration occasionally checked up these cabmen, very much greater protection than is now possible could be given at a very small cost.

THE WORK OF PRIVATE SOCIETIES ON THE DOCKS.

The Commissioner of Immigration for Boston reported that representatives of the following societies are authorized to work among the immigrants at the various docks when passenger steamships arrive: the North American Civic League for Immigrants, the Immigrants' Home of the Women's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society and the Italian Immigrant Aid Society. In addition to these, the investigator for the commis-

sion found the following: the Young Men's Christian Association, the Council of Jewish Women, the American Tract Society, the Swedish Lutheran Immigration and Seamen's Home, a Norwegian organization, the Bethany Danish Lutheran Church, the Polish Immigration Society and the Massachusetts Bible Society.

Some of these agencies do not meet many boats, and a few of them do very little intelligent work when they are on the docks. Others are doing everything that a private agency can do to give the assistance of which these people are so much in need. Some of the work which they are undertaking to do can be done effectively only by the federal government, because agents of private societies, however intelligent and resourceful, are without the authority which is necessary to give adequate protection. It often happens during the busy seasons that there are more than a thousand immigrants on one steamer, and occasionally more than one steamer arrives in a day. With no separation of those who are going beyond Boston, there is such confusion that the agents of societies, no matter how competent they may be, cannot be sure of discovering those who are most in need of help.

The private society has, however, an important field of service which can never be covered by the government. For example, the relatives and friends of an immigrant girl often cannot be discovered because of any number of things which may have happened to them since the girl last heard from them. The government ought not to release her unless some one is willing to undertake to care for her and assist her in finding work. Because the girl is eager to remain, is healthy and willing to work, a private agency offers to do these things for her. This is a serious responsibility which the government grants and the private society accepts.

It is therefore extremely important that agencies should not be admitted to the docks or detention quarters, and that immigrants should not be released to them, unless these agencies are investigated, not once but frequently by the State Board of Charities, or by the proposed State Board of Immigration whose judgment the Commissioner of Immigration could also consult. There is a great opportunity for exploitation should the agent of a society prove unscrupulous. This is not so likely to happen

as that the work of some of the agencies may result in harm because, although well meant, it is unintelligently done. Those agencies which do not investigate places where girls are placed, which have no follow-up system, but simply trust that everything has worked out as well as they hoped it would, should not be permitted to do this work. The investigations of the United States Immigration Commission showed that careful supervision of these societies is necessary.¹ Such supervision will be welcomed by societies with modern standards for social work.

IMMIGRANTS WHO ARE GOING TO POINTS OUTSIDE OF BOSTON OR MASSACHUSETTS.

For the immigrant who is going beyond Boston there are special difficulties in connection with his railroad tickets, his baggage and his transfer to the depot.

PURCHASE OF RAILROAD TICKETS.

Many immigrants come with orders for railroad tickets to their destination, which they have purchased abroad or which were sent them from the United States. These orders must receive the O.K. of an official of the steamship company, and must then be exchanged for a ticket at the railroad ticket office on the dock. As there is no system of lining up the immigrants and having them pass by both windows, or of inspecting their tickets before they leave, many mistakes are made. For example, a Pole who went to Michigan wrote to the commission complaining that although his ticket had been signed and stamped on the dock, and he had been told that no additional payment was necessary, he had been required to pay \$11 to the conductor on the train. He had not understood that his order should have been exchanged on the dock for a ticket, and believed he had been cheated. The steamship company, of course, refunded the money when the order was returned by the commission, but the Pole had been ignorant of the fact that a refund could be secured. Again and again the investigators for the commission found immigrants at the South Station who had had a similar experience.

¹ *Reports of the U. S. Immigration Commission*, Vol. 37, pp. 129-190.

LOST BAGGAGE.

There is also much unnecessary confusion and delay on account of baggage. The immigrant who has a through ticket is transferred from the dock to the railroad station free of charge, and is allowed to take one piece of baggage without payment. Those who are going on the Boston & Maine or the Boston & Albany can check their baggage through from the docks. Those who are going on the New York, New Haven & Hartford are usually given claim checks which must be exchanged for baggage checks at the depot. As the immigrant is entirely ignorant of these differences this leads to great confusion at the South Station. Many complaints were made at Fall River of the frequent loss of baggage, and also of the fact that the transfer company sent by express baggage which might have been checked. One immigrant complained that he paid on the dock in Boston what he supposed was the railway baggage charge, a sum which was much more than the legal rate for taking the baggage to the station, and that when the baggage finally reached him the express charges had still to be paid. The fact that payment is commonly made to railroads in Europe for carrying baggage makes it easy for the transfer agent, should he be dishonest, to defraud immigrants in this way. All of this could easily be controlled if this matter were supervised by the federal immigration authorities.

TELEGRAMS TO FRIENDS.

The immigrant who is going beyond Boston is, and should be, encouraged to advise his relatives or friends of his coming. If he is detained, and the assistance of his friends is necessary, accurate information of the cause of detention should be sent at once. When he presents himself at the telegraph stand on the dock he has only the name and address to which he wants a telegram sent. He cannot speak to the operator and would not know what to say if he could, for the route over which he is to travel is not selected by him, but is determined by "friendly agreement" among the railroads and steamship companies. The time of his departure, and whether he goes on a special immigrant train or by one of the regular trains, he has

no means of knowing. His ignorance and complete dependence make it so easy to defraud him that protection is always necessary. The whole relation of the immigrant to the telegraph agent is so different from that of the ordinary patron, that special regulations are needed.

At Ellis Island, because of the enormously greater numbers that arrive, these difficulties have been more apparent, and a good many safeguards have been worked out. All the telegrams in regard to detention for causes which may mean the deportation of an immigrant are regarded as official and are signed by the Commissioner of Immigration. In Boston these telegrams are sent out by the steamship companies. For other telegrams the telegraph company has for years furnished its operators and canvassers at Ellis Island with printed forms on which only the name of the person, the railroad and the hour of departure have to be written in. A receipt showing the name and address of the person to whom the telegram is sent, and the amount charged, is given every immigrant who sends a message. The commission found none of these precautions taken in Boston, and that on both the Cunard and the White Star docks the immigrants were frequently overcharged and inaccurate telegrams often sent. This was therefore taken up with the management of the telegraph company, and it was agreed that a system similar to that used at Ellis Island should be adopted.¹

FOOD ON THE DOCKS.

Most of the immigrants who are going to points beyond Boston buy at the lunch counter on the docks one meal and a lunch for the journey. Investigation showed that hot coffee or hot food of any kind cannot usually be purchased; that the food which is sold is poor in quality and very high priced. One man who has the contract to furnish food for those immigrants who are detained for special inquiry at Long Wharf runs the lunch counters at the Cunard and the White Star docks. At his stands a bottle of sarsaparilla which costs 10 cents in the city sells for 25 cents. Canned meat sells for 25 cents; the same package can be purchased at grocery stores for 10 cents. A 5-cent loaf of bread, very poor in quality and often old, he sells for 10 cents.

¹ See Appendix P.

On the Hamburg-American docks a lunch bag which was being sold the immigrant for 50 cents was found to contain a half loaf of bread, a very curious looking jelly roll, a small piece of salami sausage and five small apples. The lunch box sold at Ellis Island for the same price contains one pound of bread, one-half pound of sausage, five sandwiches, one carton of crackers and three pies. While the greater numbers handled at Ellis Island make it possible to buy to better advantage, there can be no excuse for the excessively high rate and poor quality of the food on the Boston docks. It would seem as if here, as at Ellis Island, this could be prevented by government control.

THE IMMIGRANTS AT THE RAILROAD STATION.

Inadequate provision is now made for the protection of the immigrants at the railroad stations. For example, those who are brought from the docks to the South Station to take the afternoon train for Fall River are turned loose in one of the largest railroad stations in the world during the hour when the crowds make it most bewildering. And yet they must recheck their baggage and find their trains with only the same kind of advice and help that is given the American traveler. The dangers at the railroad station are greater than those on the docks, because the general public is not admitted to the latter.

Those who arrive almost daily from New York to remain in Boston are assisted by representatives of the North American Civic League for Immigrants. But here, as on the dock, a private society is without the authority which is necessary for adequate supervision. The same methods suggested for the supervision of those who are released at the docks should be installed by the federal immigration authorities at the Boston railway stations, and extended to other important immigrant centers.

THE JOURNEY BETWEEN BOSTON AND NEW YORK.

The port of arrival in no sense determines the destination of the immigrant. Many enter the port of Boston who are destined for New York, and more who are destined for Massachusetts land at Ellis Island.

Through an agreement entered into by the steamship com-

panies, the immigrants are sent from New York to Boston or from Boston to New York by the Sound boats.

In 1819 the first regulation of the steerage quarters of ocean vessels was made by the United States government. As early as 1847¹ more than two tiers of berths were prohibited in vessels carrying immigrants from Europe to America or from America to Europe. The standard for ventilation, for the space required for each passenger, for cleanliness and for separate provision for the sexes has been raised by legislation from that time to this, and further improvements will undoubtedly be required by the present Congress. To insure the carrying out of the provisions of the law the boats are inspected before every sailing by United States consuls in Europe and by custom officers in the United States. The experience with ocean steamers gave the government every reason for anticipating that, in the absence of regulation and inspection, overcrowding, insanitary conditions and inadequate protection for the women and girls were sure to be found in the boats engaged in this interstate business, but nothing has been done to prevent these evils.

Self-interest on the part of the United States should have suggested special precaution in the protection of the morals and the health of the immigrant after he has been admitted to the United States. But, on the contrary, although much thought has gone into the protection of the immigrant on his journey to the United States, his journey in America has gone entirely unconsidered.

Complaint was received by this commission with regard to these Sound boats, of the sanitary conditions, the treatment of the women by the crew, and the serious overcrowding of the immigrant quarters during the rush season. Investigators of the commission were therefore assigned to make the trip as immigrants.

They found the beds filthy, the ventilation incredibly inadequate and the overcrowding serious. The immigrant men were made the butt of coarse jokes, and the Polish girls were compelled to defend themselves against the advances of the crew, who freely entered the women's dormitory and tried to drag

¹ Act of February 22, 1847.

the girls into the crew's quarter. On one boat petty graft was found to be practiced by some of the crew. These conditions were, of course, due to neglect on the part of the company, but also to even greater neglect on the part of the United States government in taking none of the precautions which experience had shown were absolutely essential in ocean travel.

In the hope of securing immediate improvement in the conditions found on these boats, the reports of the investigators of the commission were submitted to the New England Steamship Company. The officers of the company at once replied that they had been ignorant of the existence of the conditions until the reports of the commission were received, and assured the commission that after investigation the company would either submit plans for the improvement of this service, or would abandon it, as the kind of thing the commission reported would not be tolerated. The company's investigation confirmed that of the commission and some steps were at once taken for improvement. Arrangement was made by the company for withdrawing the boats in turn from the service, in order that the immigrant quarters could be rebuilt so as to provide outside ventilation for both men's and women's quarters, more sanitary washrooms, and complete separation of the crew's quarters from those of the immigrant. Arrangements were made for clean linen and bedding for every trip. An immigrant steward with assistants was placed in charge of the immigrant service, and a special immigrant stewardess was assigned to the women's quarters.

After these changes were promised by the company, one more trip was made by the investigators for the commission, when 180 immigrants who arrived in Boston were sent to New York by way of Fall River on the "Priscilla." Although the immigrants' quarters on this boat had not been rebuilt, conditions were much improved. The immigrant steward and stewardess seemed kind and efficient. All but three of the men were given berths by using the quarters usually reserved for soldiers. The linen and the floors of the dormitory and washrooms were clean when the boat started.

The company reported on December 22 that the steamer

"Providence" had been rebuilt according to plans submitted, that the "Plymouth" and the "Chapin" were then in the repair shop being renovated and rebuilt, and that the steamer "Priscilla" would be withdrawn and similar changes made in her as soon as the "Plymouth" was back in the service.¹ No inspection has been made since that date. All this, if carried out, will mean enormous improvement in conditions. But legislation and continuous inspection are needed. The three and four tier berths, although abolished on the ocean liners in 1847, are still used in this service, and the temptation to overcrowd dangerously and to lower standards during the rush season is very great.

While it is believed that the protection and supervision of the immigrant, from the time of his arrival until he reaches his destination, can be more effectively handled by the United States government than by the State, much could be done, as in this instance, if there were a State Board of Immigration² which was authorized to make inspections and to suggest the improvements which were found necessary.

INSPECTORS ON IMMIGRANT TRAINS.

There are other ways in which the immigrant's journey needs safeguarding. Regular, or at least occasional, trips on immigrant trains by inspectors are now generally recognized as the only way of preventing the kind of exploitation from which, it has been discovered, the immigrant often suffers during the railroad journey to some interior point. A law has been passed by Congress,³ designed to provide protection for the immigrant on his journey from the port to the interior, but unfortunately the necessary appropriation for carrying it into effect has not been made.

THE IMMIGRANT HEAD TAX SUFFICIENT TO PAY FOR ADEQUATE PROTECTION AND SUPERVISION.

Because of the interstate character of the work, and the fact that the control of the admission of the immigrant is a federal matter, all the increased supervision at the docks, on the boats, at the railroad stations and on the trains, can, it is be-

¹ See Appendix O for report of the New England Steamship Company.

² See ch. XIII, A State Immigration policy.

³ Approved Feb. 25, 1913.



An immigrant bank which gives a personal bond of \$25,000. Its capital is not \$1,000,000, but the *authorized* capital of the credit union is that amount.

lieved, best be given by the United States Bureau of Immigration. It is only fair that it should do so, for the United States collects a head tax of \$4 from every immigrant who comes. In the year ending June 30, 1913, this head tax, for the port of Boston alone, amounted to \$254,872. The expenses of the immigration service in Boston amounted to only \$102,618.70. It is surely not the intention of the federal government to levy upon the immigrant a tax for general purposes at the time of his admission, when his little capital is so much needed; therefore, the money collected in this way should be regarded as a trust fund to be devoted entirely to improving and extending the United States immigration service. The use of a very small part of the \$152,253, the difference between the amount collected and that spent in Boston, would enormously improve conditions in Massachusetts.

But the Commonwealth cannot give up all sense of responsibility. The standard of protection at the port of Boston should, because there are fewer arrivals, be higher than that on Ellis Island. The reverse has been true in the past, but neither the Commonwealth nor the city of Boston has realized this fact. No test has yet been made of what might be accomplished by a display of interest on the part of the local government. During the very short life of this commission important improvements have been secured by merely calling attention to conditions which its investigations revealed. A permanent Board of Immigration could do much more.

Section 2. Safeguarding Immigrant Savings.

The immigrant bank, with Italian, Russian or Austrian money spread alluringly in the window; with its signs conspicuously placed, announcing that the proprietor, a fellow countryman, is a notary and justice of the peace — in the mind of the immigrant an evidence of great legal learning and influence; with its pictures of ships ploughing across the Atlantic, suggesting that this is the place to deposit the savings which are to bring the immigrant's wife or brother or children to America, is to be found in every large immigrant colony.

The principal business of the immigrant banker is sending money abroad, for the immigrant seldom comes to America

free from the responsibility of caring for some one whom he has left at home. The situation in which Mary Antin's father¹ left his wife and children made it necessary for him, however small his earnings were during the first discouraging years of his life in Boston, to send money to them, and at the same time to lay something aside to purchase the steamship tickets which were needed to unite the family in America. His is a typical case. It is not only the husband and the father, but the young men and women as well, who count as part of their "cost of living" the money they feel they must send to their old father or mother or a younger sister or brother who wants also to come to America. While some money is sent to the banks at home by those who have been here longer, it is especially the business of sending small amounts to the relatives which the immigrant banker seeks to control.

In its report on immigrant banks,² the United States Immigration Commission lays emphasis on the fact "that the immigrant banker deals almost wholly with the great body of floating alien labor; that is, those of more recent arrival — who constitute a class furthest removed from Americanization, notably unversed in financial matters, easily influenced by racial appeal and largely dependent upon the leaders of their own nationality."

These patrons of the immigrant bank, who are just beginning life under new conditions and with heavy responsibilities, are without the information which enables them to protect themselves, and are least able to recover from financial losses. They are therefore most in need of protection against the evils which come from dishonest or unintelligent banking.

It seems therefore of importance to determine whether the regulation of immigrant banks and bankers in Massachusetts is sufficient in theory and well enforced in practice.

PRESENT REGULATION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Before 1905 there was no regulation of this type of banker in Massachusetts, and frauds and failures were frequent and disastrous in their effect.³

¹ Antin, Mary, *The Promised Land*, pp. 162-164.

² *Reports of the U. S. Immigration Commission*, Vol. 37, p. 214.

³ *Idem*, p. 309.

Immigrant bankers are in most instances steamship ticket agents also, and therefore the first attempts at the regulation of these as distinguished from other private bankers were based on this fact. The law of 1905¹ required all corporations, firms and persons engaged in the selling of steamship or railroad tickets for transportation to or from foreign countries, who receive money for safe-keeping or for transmission abroad, to deposit with the State Treasurer a bond in the sum of \$15,000. Failure to do this, or to observe the other provisions of the law, was made a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of from \$50 to \$100 or imprisonment for from thirty days to one year. This law has been modified by amendments passed by every Legislature from that time to the present. The most important of these are (1) the amendment that places these agencies under the supervision of the Bank Commissioner, and provides that he shall determine the amount of the bond and approve it before it is accepted by the Treasurer;² (2) that amendment by which employment agents who combine with "the business of supplying laborers" the receiving of money for safe-keeping or for transmission abroad are included in the law;³ (3) those amendments by which the real enforcement of the law is placed in the hands of the local police, by the provision that the police of the city or town in which any violation of the law occurs are required to prosecute the offenders⁴ and to notify the Bank Commissioner of those in their respective cities or towns to whom the act applies⁵; (4) that amendment requiring these agents or immigrant bankers to pay \$50 for a license if they propose to receive money both for safe-keeping and for transmission abroad, and \$25 if they propose to do the latter only.⁶

Those "persons, partnerships or corporations" who have complied with these provisions are the legal or authorized "immigrant bankers" of Massachusetts. The volume of their business indicates their importance from this standpoint.

¹ *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves*, 1905, ch. 423.

² *Idem*, 1907, ch. 377.

³ *Idem*, 1908, ch. 493.

⁴ *Idem*, 1906, ch. 408, sec. 4.

⁵ *Idem*, 1910, ch. 333, sec. 2.

⁶ *Idem*, 1912, ch. 335.

NUMBER AND BUSINESS OF THE LICENSED IMMIGRANT BANKS.

Since 1907 the Commissioner of Banking has included in his annual report a brief statement about these "bankers." The following table is based on these reports:—

TABLE 19. — *Number of Immigrant Banks furnishing Bonds to the State Treasurer and Amount of Money received as Deposits and for Transmission Abroad from 1907 to 1912.*

	Number authorized to receive Money for Transmission Abroad.	Amount of Money transmitted Abroad.	Number authorized to receive Deposits for Safe- keeping.	Amount of Deposits.
1907,	68	\$5,635,722 63	— ¹	\$388,740 77
1908,	59	4,451,940 26	— ¹	337,589 81
1909,	64	4,300,953 00	27	560,955 00
1910,	85	6,377,849 00	31	770,985 00
1911,	76	6,336,727 00	33	1,058,181 00
1912,	97	7,110,860 00	37	1,312,815 00

During the year 1912, according to these figures, these immigrant banks sent more than \$7,000,000 abroad. During that same year the value of the international money orders issued at the various post offices in the State of Massachusetts was \$6,214,009.80, — nearly \$1,000,000 less, — a fact which indicates that the advantages of postal transmission are not generally understood.

The law regulating these banks or agencies provides for two kinds of licenses, as we have said, — one authorizing the receiving of money for transmission only, the other authorizing in addition to this the receiving of money for safe-keeping. Only 37 of these immigrant banks were licensed to receive deposits in 1912, and with them was deposited over \$1,000,000, according to the figures just given. The soundness of these immigrant banking institutions is therefore of considerable importance.

¹ Not given for these years.

THE COMMISSION'S INVESTIGATIONS OF IMMIGRANT BANKS.

In August, when the commission began its investigation, there were 90 licensed immigrant banks situated in 24 cities and towns in the State. In this, as in its other investigations, the time at the disposal of the commission prevented a thorough covering of the entire number, so 57 of these banks, in Boston, Brockton, Cambridge, Chicopee, Fall River, Lawrence, Lowell, Lynn, New Bedford, North Adams, Springfield and Worcester, were studied.

An attempt was made in this investigation to learn the general standing and influence of these bankers in the foreign-born and American community, for regulation of the immigrant banker has always been considered in connection with the other functions which he performs. All the 57 bankers investigated by the commission are steamship ticket agents; 33 are also notaries public and 16 are justices of the peace. Most of them also combine banking with still another business. For example, in 21 cases the bank is part of a small store, usually a grocery or jewelry store; 21 are in real estate and insurance offices; 3 are in wholesale liquor stores; 2 are in undertaking establishments; 1 is in a tobacco factory; and 2 are in small printing offices. The practice of establishing branch post offices in immigrant banks has been generally abandoned because, as the United States Immigration Commission¹ pointed out, "the connection between the two is calculated to do much harm, inasmuch as there is shown a disposition on the part of certain bankers to use their official position as an asset in attracting patronage for their banks." The immigrant quite naturally supposes that all the business transacted at these "banks" is under United States supervision. Nevertheless, subpostal stations were found in five of the immigrant banks visited by the investigator for the commission, and it is evident that their patrons may be easily deceived in this way.

NATIONALITY OF THE PATRONS OF IMMIGRANT BANKS.

Some of these banks deal only with one nationality. Poles, Russians, Ruthenians and Lithuanians are, however, often found patronizing one bank. In a cosmopolitan neighborhood a

¹ *Reports of the U. S. Immigration Commission*, Vol. 37, p. 232.

banker sometimes has sufficient business to enable him to employ several clerks speaking the various languages. According to the bankers interviewed the nationalities with whom they have business relations are as follows:—

NATIONALITIES.	Number of Banks dealing with Different Nationalities.
Italian,	25
Russian,	12
Polish,	11
Jewish,	9
Greek,	8
Lithuanian,	6
Armenian,	6
Portuguese,	5
Syrian,	2
American,	2
Finnish,	1
Irish,	1
Scandinavian,	1
French,	1

METHODS OF TRANSMISSION USED BY IMMIGRANT BANKS.

Remittances are usually made through the money order department of the American Express Company, one of the steamship lines or the foreign exchange department of one of the larger banks of New York or Boston. The American Express and steamship companies make a practice of supplying such bankers in all parts of the United States with form books which are used for this business. These books contain blank orders which have four parts: a stub which is kept by the banker, an advice or direction slip to be sent with the money to the express or steamship company, an advice slip to be sent to the payee and a receipt which is given the purchaser. This last is the personal receipt of the banker. The name of the express or the steamship company does not appear on it, and these companies do not become responsible for the safe transmission of the money until they receive the advice slip and the money.

Fifty-seven licensed bankers were visited by the investigators

for the commission. Of these bankers, 35 transmit money through an express company, 10 through a steamship company, 2 through the foreign exchange departments of Boston banks, 8 through New York bankers and 10 carry accounts in London, Naples, Rome and other European banks, and sell orders on these banks. Those who do much business send money abroad sometimes with one and sometimes with another of these larger companies or banks. The rates charged for exchange are often low, as a result of lively competition for the patronage of a particular nationality.

DEPOSITS FOR SAFE-KEEPING.

It has already been said that of the 97 agencies or immigrant banks, only 37 were licensed in 1912 to receive deposits for safe-keeping. Of the 57 bankers visited by the commission's investigators 29 were authorized to do this.

In each of these, with one exception, a pass book bearing his own name and address and that of the bank is given the depositor. In one case an ordinary memorandum book is given, hence, in the event of death, the existence of the account would not be easily discoverable. Another bank charges 25 cents for a pass book. This one and 16 of the other immigrant banks that receive deposits say they pay no interest. The investment of the deposits is not regulated by law and therefore differs with the "banker." He may use the deposits to meet the current bills of his grocery store, purchase stocks or real estate or make loans or he may deposit them at interest with a State or national bank.

Considering, then, the immigrants' needs and the character and volume of business transacted by the licensed agencies or bankers, the question is whether or not under the present State law, the best possible protection is given the savings of the most helpless group in the community. At present, it is believed (1) that the law regulating these institutions is not sufficiently inclusive; (2) that the best provision for its enforcement is not made; and (3) that even when enforced it does not give proper protection either to those who send money abroad or to those who deposit for safe-keeping.

The present regulations in Massachusetts apply only to

steamship ticket and employment agents who transmit money abroad or receive deposits for safe-keeping. There can be no reason why a ticket agent or an employment agent needs to have his banking operations supervised any more than a grocer does who is in the banking business, and the Massachusetts law should, as the United States Immigration Commission pointed out, include all those who are engaged in this banking business.

THE LAW IS NOT PROPERLY ENFORCED.

By the terms of the law, the duty of detecting and of prosecuting those who come within its provisions and are not licensed is left with the local police. While the co-operation of the local officials is necessary, the Bank Commissioner must also be charged with the enforcement of the law, if there is to be State uniformity.

In Taunton a Portuguese who is neither an authorized steamship agent nor a licensed banker advertises as both. In April, 1912, he sold two checks, Nos. 35,992 and 35,993, on the National Provincial Bank of London. Payment was refused, as the Portuguese agent had no funds on deposit with the bank. When this was reported to the Bank Commissioner the present holder of the checks was referred to the local police, but was told that the police could not be forced to take any action. This unlicensed agent is therefore still in Taunton advertising among the Portuguese that he sells "drafts to all parts of the world." A translation of a circular widely distributed in Montello by a man who is not licensed to transmit money is given in the Appendix.¹

How many such persons are operating in defiance of the law it would be impossible to say. During its very brief investigation the commission found 15. The United States Immigration Commission, at the time when its investigations were made, in 1908, estimated the number of immigrant bankers in Massachusetts to be 175. The report of the Bank Commissioner shows that on October 31, 1908, the total number of those authorized and bonded according to law was 59, although "the number making reports" to the commissioner was 169.²

¹ See Appendix N.

² *Annual Report of the Bank Commissioner of Massachusetts*, 1908, Pt. I, p. xlvii.

In 1909, according to the report of the Bank Commissioner, blank forms were sent to 154 steamship ticket agents *supposed* to be in the business, and sales of foreign exchange were reported by 113. Only 64 were bonded that year. "This discrepancy," the commissioner explained, "between the number reporting sales and the number furnishing bonds is explained by the fact that many persons selling steamship tickets and also receiving money for transmission to foreign countries are employing as the medium for this transmission the drafts of the steamship companies, and to cover their acts a blanket bond is given to the Commonwealth by these companies."¹ This is still the practice. The law provides that the license shall not authorize the transaction of business at any place other than that described in the license, *except* with the written approval of the Bank Commissioner.² An amendment to the law was passed in 1907, which provided that the act should not apply to drafts, money orders and travellers' checks issued by transatlantic steamship companies or by their duly authorized agents.³ This section was however repealed in 1909, with the apparent intention of including the companies and their agents within the operation of the law. One of the largest of these companies gives a "blanket bond" of \$5,000 and another gives one of \$2,500; this exempts their agents from the supervision of the State. The responsibility of these companies for the acts of their agents would doubtless be held to cover the agents' transactions only when they sold the company's tickets or money orders, and not if they received, as several professed themselves willing to do, money for safe-keeping. One such Polish agent is said to have over \$5,000 in deposits. A Polish girl showed the investigator for the commission her bank book showing deposits of \$307.80 with this unlicensed agent.

IMMIGRANT SAVINGS DEPOSITED WITH LICENSED AGENCIES ARE NOT SUFFICIENTLY PROTECTED UNDER THE PRESENT LAW.

The only real protection which is given those who deposit or transmit money by the licensed immigrant bankers is the bond approved in amount and character by the Bank Com-

¹ *Annual Report of the Bank Commissioner of Massachusetts*, 1909, Pt. I, p. xvii.

² *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves*, 1911, ch. 358, sec. 1.

³ *Idem*, 1907, ch. 377, sec. 7.

missioner. No capital or reserve is required; there is no regulation of investments or loans. With the unlicensed banker even this meager regulation is lacking.

Investigation of the bonds filed with the Treasurer up to November 1 of this year showed 99 such banks licensed; 35 of these furnished surety bonds, 64 were personal. These bonds varied in amounts from \$500 to \$100,000; altogether they were in the sum of \$886,000. In 1912 the deposits of the 97 licensed agencies amounted to \$1,312,815, and the amount of money transmitted was \$7,110,860. Thus business, amounting to over \$8,000,000, was covered by \$866,000 in bonds, an amount wholly insufficient.

What happens in individual cases is illustrated by the case of an Italian banker in Lawrence who disappeared in June, 1913. He furnished a personal bond in the sum of \$2,500, and whether or not it can be collected had not been settled at the time of the commission's investigation. The assets of the bank consist of one large safe, one desk and some chairs, the whole worth, perhaps, \$150. One attorney represents seven people who had on deposit for safekeeping with this bank \$1,396, and nine people who deposited for transmission \$1,820, which was never received by those to whom it was to be sent. It is estimated that the claims of the depositors amount to about \$8,000.

Another Italian banker in Lawrence disappeared the same summer. He furnished a personal bond of \$1,000. The only property he had was a house and lot which was mortgaged to his bondsman. This mortgage was foreclosed after the banker's disappearance. At the time of the commission's investigations, court proceedings had not been begun in this case, and it was impossible to say how much was lost through him. One man reported claims amounting to \$960, and three others had deposited with him for transmission abroad \$700, which was never sent.

Of the 99 licensed immigrant banks, 46 gave bonds of \$1,000, and one gave a bond of \$500. Such amounts are altogether too small, as a clever advertiser could accumulate several thousand dollars at any time that he desired to disappear. The regulation and control exercised over these "banks" cannot be said,

therefore, to give anything like the security for their patrons which is considered necessary for other banks and savings institutions.

In 1913, on the basis of recommendations made by the Bank Commissioner, the committee on banking reported to the House of Representatives a bill¹ regulating the investments and loans which can be made by such of these banks as receive money for safe-keeping, and requiring that the security and investment of these deposits should be kept entirely separate from any other business in which the banker might be interested. This law, however, failed of passage.

ORDINARY AMERICAN BANKS HAVE NOT MET THE NEEDS OF THE NON-ENGLISH SPEAKING IMMIGRANT.

The United States Immigration Commission found in its study of immigrant banking throughout the United States "that of recent years there has been a tendency among the banks in the financial districts of St. Louis, Pittsburg, Chicago, Cleveland and other large cities to establish foreign departments with competent managers and clerks of the various races of recent immigration. . . . While ostensibly competitors of the immigrant bank, many American banks through departments of this character add much toward the perpetuation of the immigrant concerns by offering to them easy facilities for the transmission of money abroad. . . . In addition to these departments 'neighborhood' and branch banks in sections populated by immigrants have been more or less successful in securing a share of the immigrant business, both as regards remittances abroad and savings accounts. . . . Ignorance of foreign languages on the part of clerks of the average savings bank, and unwillingness and inability to extend to the immigrant depositor the very necessary accommodation of patient assistance, do not tend to attract immigrant patronage."² All of this has been true of Massachusetts banks until very recently, when some special effort has been made to meet the immigrants' needs.

Whether their business is sufficiently profitable to make it

¹ House No. 2362.

² *Reports of the U. S. Immigration Commission*, Vol. 37, p. 216.

probable that State and national banks or trust companies will make such adjustments as are necessary to care for these people cannot be said. It would seem, however, that the needs of the newly arrived immigrant could best be met by the postal savings and foreign exchange department of the post office.

THE POST OFFICE AND THE IMMIGRANT.

Before its establishment it was hoped by many that the postal savings bank would prove a formidable rival of the immigrant bank. The people who come from Italy and Austria-Hungary, it was argued, are familiar with such an institution, and would quickly avail themselves of the privileges it offers. It seemed, therefore, important to discover how far this expectation had been fulfilled, or if it had failed, for what reason. There are 205 postal savings banks at present in the State, and on May 21, 1913, the official audit showed the net deposits to amount to \$1,425,912. The total deposits for the year were of course much larger. In Boston alone, for example, during the last fiscal year they amounted to over \$1,000,000. As to how far these deposits were made by newly arrived immigrants no official figures are available. The postmasters in some of the principal immigrant centers of Massachusetts were asked to estimate what per cent of their depositors were foreigners. Replies were received from 29 cities and towns. In three of these the total deposits had not amounted to \$400, and percentages for such small amounts would of course be of little value. In the others, with two exceptions, more than half the depositors were foreign-born. In many the per cent was very much higher.

The difference in the extent to which the savings department of the post office is used, in different industrial centers where the population is largely foreign, is interesting. In Lawrence, for example, the deposits in 1912 amounted to \$42,221, and the postmaster estimates that 98 per cent of this amount was deposited by that city's immigrant population; Norwood had \$13,599 deposits, 92 per cent of which was thought to have been deposited by the Russians, Italians and Finns; in Lowell the deposits were only \$4,360, and only 6 per cent of this amount is credited to foreigners; in Peabody the deposits were

\$13,099, and 92 per cent of this amount is believed to have been deposited by the Russians, Turks and Greeks. Seven of the postmasters in these cities attribute the use of the postal savings bank by these people to familiarity with similar ones in Europe; five, to implicit belief in it because it is a government institution; nine, to distrust of private banks; and two think the postal savings bank is found to be more convenient than other banking institutions.

There can be no doubt that knowledge of the postal savings bank is not very general among the foreign-born. In reply to the question, "How do you think the use of the postal savings bank by the foreign-born might be increased?" seven of the postmasters said that increased publicity was necessary, and recommended the distribution of circulars and pamphlets explaining the functions and advantages of the postal savings bank; others thought schools and foreign churches should co-operate, and another suggested personal solicitation. It was perhaps to be expected that the eight postmasters who appreciated the fact that the government must advertise the postal savings banks if they are to compete with the immigrant banks were the ones who already had a large number of immigrant depositors. Eight thought an increase in the rate of interest necessary, but as no interest is paid by the immigrant banker, in most cases, this would not seem necessary to increase the immigrant deposits; eight also recommended that the present limit on the yearly and monthly deposits should be abolished; and one knew that pass books are considered much safer than the certificates of deposit which the post office issues.

A very valuable service would be rendered the foreign-born if schools and other public agencies helped in spreading information about the postal savings banks. It is to be hoped that with enlargement of their scope, which is at present much needed, the postal savings banks will become increasingly better known and therefore more useful.

IS THE IMMIGRANT BANK NECESSARY?

Much that is sentimental has been said about the services which the immigrant banker performs for his people, and about the consequent necessity for lax laws so that he may not be

forced out of business. In some cases the immigrant banker is a public-spirited leader and interpreter of his people. In too many cases, however, the reverse is true, and it is a part of his business policy to develop among his countrymen an undesirable dependence upon himself, by conducting what is often a bureau of misinformation. He meets the immigrants at the docks and takes them to the bank, where he gives them his business cards and envelopes before he sends them to their relatives or friends; should immigrants be detained by the inspector, he prepares, often very badly and for a high price, the affidavits of their relatives, and promises to arrange through his friend "the senator" for their admission; he gets them a job, and furnishes them with an interpreter, a lawyer and a bondsman should they be in trouble, for with all of such persons and with many others he has shrewdly established connections.

But whatever services the immigrant banker does or does not perform, in addition to those for which he is licensed, these cannot be considered as an excuse for the freedom and the lack of supervision which at present jeopardize the savings entrusted to him. The present system is in the long run really profitable only to the express and steamship companies, whose business is undoubtedly stimulated by the activity of the greater numbers who are thus engaged in urging the immigrants to send their money abroad in order to begin to save toward the purchase of steamship tickets.

The whole responsibility for honest dealing under great temptation is placed on the immigrant banker. That he does not yield more frequently is perhaps the surprising thing. All the reasons which can be offered for the careful protection of the deposits in savings banks apply with special force to the institutions we are now considering. Massachusetts led in the regulation of these immigrant banks. She should have considered that first simple regulation, which she enacted in 1905, a preparation for better standards; and yet, although she has made annual amendments, the standard is practically no higher. Requiring larger bonds and regulating the investment of deposits might force a few to take down the bank sign, but higher standards would leave many of the immigrant bankers

in business, and would at the same time give greater protection to those with whom they deal.

In order to give greater protection for immigrant savings, the following modifications of the present law are considered necessary: —

1. It should be made to include all those who do a foreign exchange business and those who receive money for safe-keeping, with certain exceptions, such as incorporated banks, trust companies, etc.

2. Investments of deposits should be regulated.

3. The minimum penalty of the bond should be \$10,000.

4. The Commissioner of Banking, as well as the local police, should be charged with the enforcement of the law, and the commissioner or his deputy should be given authority to examine the books of all the unlicensed agencies that are suspected of violating the law.

5. The Commissioner of Banking should be given the right to ask for an injunction and that a receiver be appointed for an unlicensed agency found to be doing a banking business.

6. Money which is received for transmission should be forwarded within five days after it is accepted.

7. In case of action for failure to forward money left for transmission, the burden of proof to show that the money was sent should rest on the licensee.

Section 3. Notaries Public.

In foreign countries the notary public is trained for judicial service, and the title is a guarantee of learning and authority. In the United States he usually performs merely clerical service, and is never regarded as a legal adviser. In Massachusetts he is appointed by the Governor and holds office for seven years.¹ A notary public must be a voter, and his petition for appointment must be signed by "at least five well-known persons, of whom one must be a member of the bar, one an executive officer of a city or town, and one a justice of some court of record." These must certify that they are personally acquainted with the applicant and "consider him a man of high standing and character."² No question is raised as to qualifi-

¹ Amendment IV, to Massachusetts Constitution.

² See Petition for Appointment to the Office of Notary Public.

cations for the office, and in practice men regard very lightly the signing of a paper of this sort, as it is considered of little importance. As the Governor has no means of investigating the character or qualifications of the applicant, petitions if properly signed are usually granted as a matter of course. The title of notary public in Massachusetts is therefore in no sense a guarantee of either learning or honesty.

The shrewd and unscrupulous in the foreign colony are quick to take advantage of this great difference in the standing of the notary here and abroad. The immigrant requires the services of a notary most often in the renunciation of allegiance to his own country, in securing exemption from military service, in connection with the acknowledgment of deeds or other papers which are to be sent to Europe and in making the affidavits which must be sent to the relatives who are coming to join him in America. To execute these papers properly a knowledge of Italian, Austrian, Russian or other law and of the United States immigration law is necessary. The immigrant believes that the notary in Massachusetts possesses this knowledge because underneath the English words "Notary Public" on his sign is the very title which, at home, has meant an officer who is recognized as more "learned in the law" than the lawyer. The result is that much time and money are lost on the part of immigrants because of the absolute incompetence of notaries who undertake to perform work of which they have not the slightest knowledge.

Many of these notaries advertise to do much more than take acknowledgments of deeds and other instruments, although they usually lack the training even for the latter service. A Polish notary advertises in a Boston paper as follows: "I make legal documents approved by consuls; am interpreter in court in the Polish and Russian languages; attend to cases of accidents, loss of life and recover on all old cases. Whoever is arrested I try to release him. I do not serve capitalists, only working people. Whoever is in misfortune let him come to me. Advice given free."

It would not be surprising if the newly arrived immigrant, on reading such a statement, should conclude that this notary is an officer appointed by the State to look after the interests

of the Polish and Russian working men in Boston. Some who advertise in this way do not hold commissions even as notaries.¹ The investigators for the commission found some of these notaries willing to prepare papers and witness the signatures of persons who did not appear before them. Others accepted the money for doing this, and then ignored written requests for papers and signatures which had been promised. But in general, the most serious evil is the ignorance and incompetence of the men whom the State authorizes to do this work. Improperly prepared papers of all sorts are constantly presented at the offices of foreign consuls, and complaints of both dishonesty and incompetence were received by the commission.

By an investigation of the practices of these notaries, evidence could be secured on which the certificates of many might be revoked. Such an investigation could and should be made by the Board of Immigration, the creation of which is recommended in chapter XIII of this report. But unless provision is made for more safeguards in the determination of the qualifications of new applicants this would accomplish very little. The commission is glad to record that His Excellency Governor Walsh has taken cognizance of the fact that the lack of care in the appointment of notaries public has led to many abuses in the past, and has declared that in the future all petitioners for appointment to that office, who are not attorneys-at-law, shall be required to appear before the Governor or a committee of the Council to be tested as to their fitness for appointment. There is no reason why the notary should not undergo such an examination demonstrating his fitness for the office. With the co-operation of the consuls, special tests could be given for those who expect to draw documents for use in foreign countries, and real competence could thus be insured. If an eligible list were prepared by the Civil Service Commission, the Governor would then have the information which he needs to make proper appointments. The commission therefore recommends that the Civil Service Commission be authorized to prepare upon request by the Governor such a list, from which the Governor may appoint notaries public.²

¹ See Appendix N.

² For the powers and status of justices of the peace, see p. 107, note.

CHAPTER IX.

THE IMMIGRANT AND IMPROVED MEDICAL STANDARDS.

Many requests have come to the commission from leaders of the foreign colonies, asking that some recommendation should be made in regard to the better regulation of the practice of medicine. The immigrant, they have urged, is deceived by the quack doctor, who is often a skilful advertiser of free examinations and impossible "cures," and by the medical institutes and dispensaries whose signs in four or five languages announce that advice is free. In these dispensaries the immigrant is often told, without examination, that the purchase of a \$1 bottle of pink or brown medicine is absolutely necessary for relief from a disease which he may or may not have. The injury to the immigrant's health, if he submits to treatment by these practitioners, is likely to be much more serious than his money losses, as the medicine given is not always harmless and, if he is really sick, obtaining good medical counsel is dangerously delayed.

The evil effects of the failure to raise the requirements for medical practice in Massachusetts are not confined, however, to the immigrant population, although here, as in so many cases, the general ignorance of the immigrant makes him the easiest victim.

In Massachusetts, according to the report of the Board of Registration in Medicine, "it is possible . . . for persons with little real medical knowledge, who have not pursued even a partial course of study in a reputable medical school, who have no clinical instruction, who know nothing of laboratory demonstrations, and who have had no practical hospital experience, to succeed in fulfilling the requirements of the registration law by the aid of careful coaching and by memorizing medical compends. In the other States, with only two or three exceptions, board examinations are open only to graduates of reputable schools of medicine."¹ The European who is ac-

¹ *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Registration in Medicine* (1912), pp. 8, 9.

customed to a rigid enforcement of much higher standards ought, therefore, to be warned on his arrival that the words "doctor" and "professor" are in no sense a guarantee of training or ability in Massachusetts. That this standard of medical registration will be much longer accepted seems incredible. Certainly as long as it is, the immigrant has no sources of information which will enable him to distinguish the trained from the untrained and often unscrupulous doctor.

The Practice of Midwifery.

While the fact that the poorly trained doctor is allowed to practice affects much more than the immigrant population, the midwife is distinctly an immigrant problem. Her position in Massachusetts furnishes an example of the curious inconsistencies which creep into our law. The medical registration act does not exempt midwives,¹ and as the practice of midwifery has been held to be a branch of medicine,² and as she is not a medical practitioner under the law she cannot legally practice. And yet she is required to register all the births she attends, and is paid a fee for doing this.³

The responsibility for the enforcement of the law rests upon the police. Although there have been occasional prosecutions and convictions, a consistent and determined effort to prevent the practice of midwifery has not been made in any city or town in the State. Nor, indeed, is this recommended by those who are most opposed to any amendment of the present law prohibiting the practice of midwifery. As a result of this curious contradiction in the law the standing of the midwives differs in the local communities. In Boston the midwife does not herself register the births she attends, but arrangement is made for reporting the cases through a doctor, who in many cases is not present at the birth. But everywhere the absolutely untrained midwife is on exactly the same footing as graduates of a reputable school of midwifery.

The women who depend upon the midwife are usually Italian, Polish, Lithuanian, Scandinavian, Portuguese, Syrian or Greek. There are many reasons why they prefer her to a

¹ *Revised Laws of Massachusetts*, ch. 76, sec. 3.

² *Commonwealth v. Porn*, 195 Mass. 443; 196 Mass. 326.

³ *Revised Laws of Massachusetts*, ch. 29, sec. 3.

doctor. In the first place, most of those who, when they lived in Europe, were in the habit of relying, at this time, upon the assistance of any one except the husband or a friend, were accustomed to trained and licensed midwives; they object to the man doctor, and the woman doctor is little known in the immigrant neighborhood. In the second place, it should be remembered that the midwife usually serves as doctor, nurse and family counsellor, and, to the worried mother, the preparing of food and caring for the children and for her husband seem as important as more skilled treatment for herself and the last baby.

An investigation of the practice of midwifery made in 1909 showed 104 midwives practicing in the following cities: Boston, 36; Brockton, 3; Cambridge, 13; Chelsea, 3; Brookline, 1; Chicopee, 2; Fall River, 13; Holyoke, 5; Lynn, 3; New Bedford, 12; Springfield, 8; and Quincy, 5. On the basis of these figures the number practicing in the State as a whole was estimated at 150; and the conclusion drawn was that the midwife did not present at all the problem in Massachusetts that she did in New York, Illinois and other States with large foreign populations.¹ These figures as a matter of fact give no adequate idea of the numbers practicing at present. In New Bedford 34 midwives reported births in 1912, as compared with the 12 found in the investigation made in 1909. How many were practicing and not reporting births cannot be said. In Fall River, according to the District Nursing Association, 54 are known to be attending births, and others have been reported to the association, but have not been investigated. In 1909 only 13 were found. At the hearing that this commission held in Holyoke, one of the members of the board of health estimated the number practicing in that city at about 40. While this may be an exaggeration, there are undoubtedly a great many more than the 5 reported in 1909.

The midwife's patients are principally the women from Southern and Eastern Europe, and as this immigration is more recent in Massachusetts than in New York or Illinois, the problem has developed later.

Many of the midwives practicing in the State were trained in some of the best midwifery schools of Europe, but others

¹ Huntington, Dr. James Lincoln, "Midwives in Massachusetts," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol. CLXVII, No. 16, pp. 542-548.

are illiterate, untrained and dirty. Unfortunately, the practice of the latter is in many cases larger than that of the former. The effect of the lack of supervision and of the resulting competition from the untrained is that "the finely trained midwife who comes with her diploma and sterilizer from the schools of the Old World, finding no use for either of these articles, forgets that she ever possessed them, and becomes to all intents and purposes an untrained midwife."¹

It is therefore evident that, although this is contrary to law, an increasingly large number of immigrant women are attended during childbirth by midwives, many of whom are untrained and irresponsible. This often means preventable blindness, through failure to take the necessary precautions to protect the baby's eyes against ophthalmia neonatorum,² a higher infant mortality and serious physical injury to the mother.

There is a very general agreement throughout the country that the midwife, however well trained and supervised, can never furnish the best standard of obstetrical care. This can be given only by physicians who have had thorough instruction in both the art and the science of obstetrics. There is also a very general agreement that midwives, because they usually undertake to handle only normal cases, are not responsible for as many deaths in childbirth as the ignorant and inexperienced doctor who refuses to recognize his limitations.³ Better training of physicians for obstetrical work and higher standards for admission to the practice of medicine are therefore necessary. On the next question, as to whether what is admittedly the best standard for obstetrical care is to be secured most quickly, and at the same time with consideration for all classes of women, by ignoring, by regulating or by abolishing the midwife, experts differ. At present, Massachusetts makes the practice of midwifery illegal, yet in the administration of the law tacitly allows it.

The physicians who are doing most for the improvement of

¹ Emmons, Dr. A. B., and Huntington, Dr. J. L., "Has the trained and supervised Midwife made Good?" *Report of the Second Annual Meeting of the American Association for Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality* (1911), p. 206.

² Greene, Henry Copley, *Ophthalmia Neonatorum in Ten Massachusetts Cities*, pp. 18, 26, 27. Monograph No. 1, American Association for the Conservation of Vision.

³ Williams, Dr. J. Whittridge, "The Midwife Problem and Medical Education in the United States." *Report of the Second Annual Meeting of the American Association for Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality*, p. 183.

obstetrical practice in Massachusetts are opposed to licensing and supervising the midwife. They urge that those women who will not and should not go to a free dispensary could, for the same fee that is now paid the midwife, be cared for by obstetrical dispensaries, with a staff of paid physicians. But nowhere, except in Boston, is any attempt being made to work out such a plan. A physician, a member of the board of health in one of the cities in which the commission held a public hearing, described his board as using a method of regulating midwives which was in itself illegal and which, as investigation showed, never had been followed. Apparently the doctor had simply supposed that of course something of the sort was being done. In another city a board of health doctor was so little interested in public health problems that he considered the midwife only as a possible competitor, and generously said that he was willing "the poor things should make a little something."

Such indifference gives little encouragement to the belief that local leadership in the establishment of dispensary service can be expected in the near future. For this reason many believe that Massachusetts should only permit a midwife to practice legally on condition of annually passing in English or in her native language a thorough examination. This would mean the immediate elimination of the seriously incompetent, and as the general standard in obstetrical care is raised and dispensary service developed the midwife may be eventually eliminated. The large and rapidly increasing number of women who use the midwife makes it necessary for the medical profession and the State to face this problem at once and to decide on some method of protecting immigrant women from the absolutely untrained and irresponsible practitioners.



An unventilated toilet opening into a kitchen. (*From Aronovici, Housing Conditions in Springfield.*)

CHAPTER X.

DEPENDENCY AMONG IMMIGRANTS.

Whether or not the newer immigration is tending to increase the already large class of persons dependent upon public or private charity, is an important and much-discussed question. The commission did not make any original investigation along this line, as facts concerning the immigrant as a dependent in Massachusetts are available from several sources.

The United States Immigration Commission made a study of immigrants as charity seekers,¹ largely on the basis of material gathered from the charity organization societies of 43 cities throughout the United States. Five of these cities were in Massachusetts, — Boston, Lynn, Malden, Springfield and Worcester. The following table shows that with the exception of Springfield the charity organization societies were assisting a larger number of foreign-born than of native-born persons, but that the majority of the foreigners aided belonged to the English-speaking races: —

TABLE 20. — *Number of Cases assisted by Charity Organization Societies, December 1, 1908, to May 31, 1909, in Five Cities in Massachusetts, by General Nativity and Race.*²

	Boston.	Lynn.	Malden.	Springfield.	Worcester.	Total.
Total cases,	1,010	394	83	197	220	1,904
Native-born,	390	182	36	163	99	870
Foreign-born,	620	212	47	34	121	1,034
Race of foreign-born: —						
Irish,	174	76	12	8	48	318
English and Scotch,	71	14	2	13	8	108
Canadian English,	119	42	8	—	1	170
Canadian French,	7	7	—	1	15	30
Italian,	127	10	—	4	8	149
Jewish, ³	23	28	13	—	1	65
Scandinavian,	18	6	3	2	14	43
German,	11	4	6	6	—	27
Polish,	13	4	—	—	5	22
Armenian,	1	11	—	—	4	16
Others,	56	10	3	—	17	86

The following table, compiled from the annual report of the State Board of Charity, shows the nativity of the persons

¹ *Reports of the U. S. Immigration Commission*, Vol. 34.

² Compiled from *Reports of the U. S. Immigration Commission*, Vol. 34, p. 6 ff.

³ The small number of Jewish cases is accounted for by the fact that Jewish charitable societies care to a large extent for persons of their race.

who received public relief during the year ended March 31, 1912: —

TABLE 21. — *Nativity of Persons who received Public Relief in Massachusetts during the Year ended March 31, 1912, together with the Per-cent Distribution by Nativity of the Total Population, 1910.*¹

	PERSONS RECEIVING PUBLIC RELIEF.		Total Population, 1910. Per Cent Distribution.
	Number.	Per Cent of Known Nativity.	
Total,	72,700	100.0	100.0
Native-born,	46,921	67.9	68.5
Foreign-born,	22,143	32.1	31.5
Nativity unknown,	3,636	—	—
Total foreign-born from English-speaking countries.	18,162	26.3	19.1
Ireland,	9,242	13.4	6.6
Canada,	6,206	9.0	8.8
England, Scotland and Wales,	2,714	3.9	3.7
Total foreign-born from non-English speaking countries.	3,981	5.8	12.4
Italy,	1,501	2.2	2.5
Russia,	1,260	1.8	3.5
Scandinavia,	435	.6	1.5
Germany,	380	.6	.9
Other countries,	405	.6	4.0

From this table it appears that 32.1 per cent of the persons supported or relieved by the State or by the towns during the year ending March 31, 1912, were foreign-born. Since the foreign-born constituted 31.5 per cent of the total population, the proportion of foreign-born paupers is almost equal to the proportion of foreign-born in the population. On the other hand, the foreign-born from non-English speaking countries formed only 5.8 per cent of the persons receiving public aid and 12.4 per cent of the total population. In 1904, when 51 per cent of the paupers admitted to almshouses in Massachusetts were foreign-born, only 8 per cent were from non-English speaking countries.

It, therefore, seems fair to conclude that the per cent of the

¹ Compiled from the *Annual Report of the State Board of Charity of Massachusetts*, 1912, Pt. III, pp. 116, 119, and from *U. S. Thirteenth Census* (1910), *Abstract*, p. 204, Table 14.

foreign-born persons cared for by the State, by the towns, or by private agencies in institutions or in their homes is not disproportionately large, and that a disproportionately small per cent are from the non-English speaking countries of the newer immigration, and few are recently arrived immigrants. The United States Immigration Commission concluded that throughout the United States "pauperism among newly admitted immigrants is relatively at a minimum," and that "the recent immigrants, even in cities in times of relative industrial inactivity, do not seek charitable assistance in any considerable numbers."¹

It must be remembered, however, that the present immigration law absolutely excludes from the United States all paupers and persons likely to become a public charge, as well as all feeble-minded and insane persons,² while immigrants were formerly admitted with practically none of the present precautions.³ As the Federal Immigration Commission points out in regard to the earlier immigration, "It is recorded that in some cases a considerable part of the immigrants arriving on a ship would be so destitute of means of support that it was necessary to transport them immediately to almshouses."⁴

Even more important in accounting for the comparatively few dependents among recent immigrants is the fact that the majority are young men and women between fifteen and forty-five years of age. Of the immigrants admitted to the United States in 1911-1912, only 14 per cent were under fifteen years of age and only 5 per cent forty-five years or over.⁵ Of the poor persons supported or relieved in Massachusetts during the same year, 36 per cent were children under fifteen, and 28 per cent were forty-five years or over.⁶ That is, a large percentage of the newly arrived immigrants belong to the class of men and women in the prime of life, comparatively few of whom, in any nationality, receive charitable assistance.

¹ *Reports of the U. S. Immigration Commission*, Vol. 1, p. 36.

² The following are excluded: "All idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics, insane persons and persons who have been insane within five years previous; persons who have had two or more attacks of insanity at any time previously; paupers; persons likely to become a public charge; professional beggars; persons afflicted with tuberculosis or with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease; persons not comprehended within any of the foregoing excluded classes who are found to be and are certified by the examining surgeon as being mentally or physically defective, such mental or physical defect being of a nature which may affect the ability of such alien to earn a living." *Immigration act of February 20, 1907*, sec. 2.

³ See ch. I, "History of Immigration to Massachusetts," pp. 27, 28.

⁴ *Reports of the U. S. Immigration Commission*, Vol. 1, p. 35.

⁵ *Annual Report of the U. S. Commissioner-General of Immigration*, 1912, p. 74.

⁶ *Annual Report of the State Board of Charity of Massachusetts*, Part III, 1912, p. 118.

The relatively small amount of dependency among immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe is, then, at least partly explained by the exclusion of paupers and those handicapped in earning a livelihood by mental or physical defects, and by the fact that the majority of these immigrants come to this country as young men and women. It is still too early to judge whether these people of the newer immigration will prove better able or less able to endure the strain of modern industry and of life in crowded and insanitary homes than those who are native-born or belong to the older immigration. But there is every reason to believe that unless these conditions are improved the Southern and Eastern Europeans will not make so good a showing as they now do, after the effects of overwork and insanitary conditions have had time to undermine the superior health of the country-bred peasants.

The number of foreign-born in hospitals for the insane in Massachusetts appears to be considerably larger than the per cent of foreign-born in the total population of the State. The report of the State Board of Insanity shows that the foreign-born constituted 44.4 per cent of the insane admitted to institutions in Massachusetts in 1912,¹ an increase since 1903, when the Special Report of the United States Census on the Insane and Feeble-minded showed that 42 per cent of the insane in hospitals in Massachusetts were foreign-born. As in the case of those receiving public relief, however, tables giving the country of birth of foreign-born insane persons, or of inmates of the schools for the feeble-minded, show that a comparatively small number were born in non-English speaking countries.² Under present prohibitions of the United States Immigration Law there should be no recruiting of our hospitals for the insane or of our schools for the feeble-minded from the recent immigration. With increased medical service so that more careful examination of those seeking admittance could be given,³ defectives who are recent immigrants could be practically eliminated.

¹ *Report of the Massachusetts State Board of Insanity*, 1912, p. 278.

² See Appendix J for tables on the nativity of the insane in institutions in Massachusetts, and Appendix K for tables on the nativity of the inmates of the schools for the feeble-minded.

³ See Sprague, Dr. E. K., "Mental Examination of Immigrants," *Survey*, Vol. 31, pp. 466-468.

CHAPTER XI.

**THE FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PRESS AND ORGANIZATIONS FOR
SELF-HELP AMONG IMMIGRANTS.****Section 1. The Foreign-language Press.**

The influence of the foreign-language newspapers must be considered in any program which requires the co-operation of the immigrant population. The commission has found 58 such papers published in the following languages in Massachusetts: Albanian, Arabian, Armenian, Jewish, French, German, Greek, Italian, Lettish, Lithuanian, Polish, Portuguese, Swedish, Syrian and Yiddish. Six of these are dailies. In addition, many foreign-language papers published in other States have a wide circulation in Massachusetts. Although these papers find it very difficult to hold the second generation as readers, they are the only newspapers read by a large per cent of the adult immigrant population.

The explanation of this is simple. In addition to the language difficulties, which make even those who have learned some English prefer their native language, these papers contain much of peculiar interest to the immigrants. There are accounts of what is happening in Galicia, Finland, Portugal or Greece, and of what the Italians, Poles, Syrians or Lithuanians in other parts of the United States are doing; and all the events of the day are interpreted in terms of the immigrant's own experience and special interests.

The policy and character of these papers differ widely. They represent the various religious and political factions of Europe as well as of the United States. All of them are, as is to be expected, strongly "national" in the advocacy of the cause of their own people in the struggles of rival European races; Russian, Austrian or Hungarian officials often complain that the Polish, Slovak or Lithuanian movement at home is kept alive by the American press.

Many of these papers are small and have not the means to purchase real news service. While some of the editors are public-spirited men of wide culture, others have practically no

knowledge of American life and institutions. The majority are loyal Americans; the patriotism of some of them, however, like that of many native American editors, does not always dictate the choice of the public good when this conflicts with private gain.

But whatever their faults or limitations, the foreign-language papers cannot be ignored as influential factors in the community life. In all educational campaigns for the protection of public health, for the improvement of social, industrial and political conditions, in advertising schools, libraries and lectures their support is needed and it is believed can be secured. The commission has found these papers ready to co-operate in furthering its investigations and in giving publicity to its hearings.

The American public, as well as the editors themselves, should realize that the foreign-language papers have a rare opportunity to serve the interests of their own people and of their adopted country.

Section 2. Organizations among Immigrants for Self-help.

The societies which are organized and maintained by the members of the different nationalities, and which flourish in some form in every community where there are large groups of immigrants, are a factor in helping the immigrant through the trials of immigration and the difficulties of adjustment to new conditions. The chief reason among all nationalities for the formation of these societies is insurance against sickness and death, but most of them combine with this some other objects.¹ Nearly all of them outline an educational and civic program. They may lack the means to carry this out, yet the statement of these purposes has an influence upon the members. Co-operation with these organizations on the part of American agencies would help the immigrant in solving his own problems, and might mean the carrying out of these larger ideals. The organizations of the Swedes, French-Canadians and Germans are familiar to Americans, but very few realize the organized efforts which those who come from Southern and Eastern Europe are making in their own behalf.

¹ See ch. VII, p. 159, for an account of naturalization societies.

A detailed description of the latter cannot be given, but reference is made to a few of the typical ones among the nationalities which belong to what is called the new immigration.

There are two organizations among the Greeks in every city or town in this country where there is a colony of this nationality. The first to appear is usually the *Greek community*, having as its main purpose the building and maintenance of a Greek church, but being also a fraternal organization. In Massachusetts there are nine organized Greek communities; six estimate their membership at over 1,000, one at 10,000. The other three have between 600 and 900 members.

Since 1912 a bread tax of 1 cent for each loaf of bread used has been levied on their members by the Greek communities of Massachusetts. This bread tax, collected each Sunday, is used for the maintenance of the church and of the school, if there is one.

The Pan-Hellenic Union is a national organization with headquarters in Boston. In addition to the payment of sick and death benefits the Union has outlined a comprehensive program for bettering the conditions of Greeks in America by creating a spirit of self-help, by protecting the Greek immigrants and laborers, by aiding in the furtherance of the political ambitions of their much-loved mother country and, at the same time, by instilling in the Greeks of the United States veneration and affection for the laws and the institutions of America. The Pan-Hellenic Union has twenty branches in Massachusetts, one with 1,000 members, three with 500 or over, two with 200 and fourteen with less than 100.

There are several local societies in the large Greek communities whose members are from the same towns in Greece, and whose object is to help each other in time of need and to do something for their town or city in the home land. These societies, however, are rapidly being absorbed into the Pan-Hellenic Union.

Among the Italians the societies are not united, for whatever the object of a society, its membership is usually drawn from those who come from one town or province in Italy. The result is a great number of associations. In Springfield, for example, where the Italian population, according to the census

for 1910, is 2,915, there are twelve societies. One society has recently celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary with great enthusiasm. It reports 400 members, a fund of \$3,500 and a record of having paid out, in sick benefits and to destitute families, about \$15,000. It is described in its report as a society that "unites us and gives us strength, and will make us more acceptable in the eyes of the American people; that will guide us in all vicissitudes and trouble of life; that will give us work when we are idle; that will succor us with money when we are sick; that will help our families and accompany us with dignified ceremony when we die."

The many Italian mutual benefit societies in Boston are of three slightly different types: first, those which require membership in the Catholic church and are usually named for the patron saint of the vicinity from which the group comes; second, those which do not require membership in the Catholic church and are rather political in their objects; and third, those which have a certain patriotic side and whose members have been soldiers in Italy. All three types have essentially the same benefit features.

The Italian Immigrant Aid Society hardly belongs to this part of the discussion, as it has had much American assistance. Still, since it is subsidized by the Italian government, it is an Italian rather than an American organization. Its objects are to protect the Italian against exploitation¹ and to provide for the return to Italy of those who are sick or discouraged. Its representatives are at the docks to assist those who are entering or leaving the country.

Among the Jews in addition to the large philanthropic societies which are formed by the wealthier to assist in the Americanization of the newcomers and to care for the poor of their faith, there are many smaller societies which are organized and supported principally by the more recently arrived Russian, Polish and Roumanian Jews. The loan societies which have been formed in several cities in Massachusetts seem the most successful of these charities. They are supported by subscription, and they loan, upon the indorsement of a member, small sums without interest. The Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, to whose work

¹ See ch. VIII, sec. 1, "Arrival and Transit."



A Greek coffee house — the social center of the colony.

on the docks reference has already been made, is largely supported by Russian Jews. As among the other immigrants so among the Jews mutual benefit associations have been formed; some of these have branches throughout New England. The statement of the objects of these societies usually covers much civic and educational work, but most of them have as yet done very little along these lines.

The Lithuanians have about sixty mutual benefit societies in Massachusetts and about thirty educational societies arranging lectures and classes. Many of these are very closely connected with the church. Distinctive features of the Lithuanian societies of Massachusetts are their "national homes," or club houses, where their clubs can meet, and where a library of Lithuanian books and papers is maintained. There are homes of this kind in three cities, and three more are being built. The Lithuanian Benevolent Society, which was organized to build the home in Boston, is a well-established mutual benefit society with 350 members. The Lithuanian Roman Catholic Alliance has 17 groups in the different industrial centers in Massachusetts, some of the groups having as many as 160 members.

Among Massachusetts Poles there are many branches of the Polish National Alliance. This is one of the largest single societies among the Slavic people in the United States. While it is primarily a mutual benefit society, it is much more than that, for it has special committees for education, agriculture, industry, charity and recreation. The Polish Industrial Association is associated with another large national organization, — the Polish Catholic Alliance. A Polish immigration society has recently been organized which maintains a temporary lodging house where Poles who arrive in Boston and are unable to proceed at once to their destination may stay. It also has a representative to meet the boats in order to protect and help the Polish newcomer. The Polish Young Men's Alliance is a national organization with several branches in Massachusetts; each local branch has a library and a reading room and holds evening classes in English and civics and in gymnastics. The mutual benefit features are the best-developed part of the work.

The Syrian societies are at present at a very early stage of the development of their organizations. In Boston, in connection with the Syrian Orthodox Church, there are two societies, — St. John of Damascus, which supports the church, and the United Greek Orthodox Society, which raises money for the school in connection with the church. This last-named society is managed by a group of men who represent the four societies of Damascus, three active members from each society. There are also organizations in connection with the Syrian Roman Catholic churches. The usual form of organization among the Syrians, however, is to have 13 active members, including the officers, who really constitute the society, whatever the other membership may be. One such society was founded, in the words of one of its members, "to praise the name of the Syrians." The plan is to have those who have been here some time assist the recent arrivals by lectures and informal talks, and so prevent the mistakes and failures which might bring the Syrian into disrepute.

The most interesting organizations, however, found among the foreign-speaking people in Massachusetts are the co-operative societies, usually having stores in which the profits are divided among the members by the giving of interest on shares or dividends on purchases. This form of society lends itself admirably to the uses of the immigrant.

Professor Ford, in his book *Co-operation in New England*, has given a detailed description of these organizations. According to this study there are thirty-one distributive co-operative associations of non-English speaking urban consumers in Massachusetts, of which seven are Lithuanian, six Finnish, five Italian, three Polish, two each French, German, Hebrew and Swedish, one Belgian and one Swedish-Finnish.¹ Of these the Finnish stores, as a whole, show the greatest success. The first one was established twelve years ago; at present there are six. Of these the Kaleva Co-operative Association of Maynard deserves especial mention because it is largely responsible for a movement to federate the Finnish co-operative societies in New England. According to Mr. Ford, "It was founded in 1907 by

¹ Ford, James, *Co-operation in New England* (Russell Sage Foundation Publication, N. Y. 1913), Table II.

Finnish mill hands of that town, and now has over 300 members, only one of whom is not a Finn. The capital stock of \$2,900 is in \$5 shares. The building in which the store is situated cost \$16,000, and \$2,300 is received in rents. . . . The store is exceptionally clean, large and attractive, the management experienced and enterprising, and the members interested and loyal. . . . The Kaleva Association is in touch with over fifteen other co-operative stores in this country, a record which is unique. . . . Finnish working men have thus reached a point in co-operation beyond that attained by any other working man's association in New England." ¹

When it is remembered that the members of many of these societies come from countries in which, because of the fear on the part of the dominant race of a revolutionary uprising, they have been practically prohibited from engaging in any form of organized activity, the success of these attempts in America indicates an initiative and an appreciation of the value of association for a common good which are encouraging.

¹ Ford, James, *Co-operation in New England*, pp. 43-45.

CHAPTER XII.

PRIVATE AGENCIES AND THE IMMIGRANT.

In the foregoing sections of this report it has been shown that more and better educational facilities, a comprehensive plan of distribution, State provision for protection against exploitation, the dissemination of information and a general recognition, on the part of the public agencies, of the difficulties which the foreigner meets here in America are necessary if the foreigner is to be adjusted to his American environment with the least possible loss to himself and to the community. Some mention should be made in this connection of the private agencies which will always be needed to supplement the activities of the State, if, to use the language of the resolution creating this commission, "the immigrant is to be brought into sympathetic relations with American institutions and customs."¹

The pioneers in this work have been the social settlements. They have endeavored to provide social and educational opportunities and a meeting place for the American and the foreign-born, where each might learn to know and understand the other. With the sympathy which comes from daily contact, the settlements have interpreted the life and needs of these newcomers to the larger American public.

Other agencies have more recently entered the field, with different avenues of approach and different programs. The North American Civic League for Immigrants was organized in 1908 to protect the immigrant from exploitation after he leaves federal control; to co-operate with the public schools in an extensive educational program designed to promote assimilation by special classes in naturalization and by lectures in the foreign languages on civic subjects, as well as by instruction in English; and to counteract the teaching of socialists or other radicals. It also aims to act as a clearing house for all agencies which are assisting the immigrants. Its last annual report shows committees or members in 48 different cities of the United States; 24 of these are in Massachusetts.

¹ The work done by private agencies in meeting the immigrants at the docks and railway stations is discussed in ch. VIII, sec. 1.

The Young Men's Christian Association, in the recently created immigration and industrial department of its work, is adjusting its organization to the needs of the group which it has never before served. Classes in English and in citizenship are being formed, and an adaptation of the social and recreational program of the association to the needs of foreign men is being made. This department is especially well organized in Massachusetts, and is reaching a very large number of young men.¹

A branch of the International Institute, which is the name under which the Young Women's Christian Association hopes to develop nation-wide work among foreign women and girls, has been established in Lawrence, and some work is done by the regular organization of the Association in a number of other cities in Massachusetts.

The Women's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church maintains in connection with its dock work two immigrant homes in Boston, where immigrants may obtain lodging, help and advice of various kinds. These are open to all races and creeds. The work of the Italian Aid Society is discussed in another section of this report.²

There is a Boston branch of the Baron de Hirsch fund committee, which conducts an employment bureau for Jewish immigrants and makes a special effort to secure employment for recent arrivals outside of the congested centers. The Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society has agents who meet the steamers and give help and advice to those who are remaining in Massachusetts, or to those who are passing through. They also assist those who are detained, to communicate with their relatives and friends and to prepare the statement of their right to admission.³

The need of special work for immigrant girls and women who come alone or fail to find the friends with whom they expected to live has not been appreciated. In the fourth annual report of the social service department of the Massachusetts General Hospital, Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder, at present superintendent of the Sherborn Reformatory for Women but at that time connected with the hospital, emphasized this specific

¹ See pp. 121, 137, 159 of this report.

² Ch. XI, p. 204.

³ Ch. VIII, sec. 1, p. 162 ff.

need. Referring to the peculiarly helpless situation of the immigrant girls who belonged to the group of unmarried mothers which her department served, Mrs. Hodder asked, "Why cannot some private society undertake to befriend adequately each homeless immigrant girl and all who come through under the protection of a relative who drops them on landing? Such an organization would be helpful to the community as well, for it would be able to sift out and see deported such subnormal, insane and physically defective women as now get in despite the examination of the immigration officers. Such an agency might help those who were fitted to stay to get a fair start, with true knowledge of our standards."¹

This, so far as Jewish women are concerned, is the work that has been undertaken by the immigration committee of the Boston Council of Jewish women; their agents visit all the Jewish girls who give as their destination Boston or the nearby cities and towns, and assist them in establishing connections with school, work and recreation centers. In Worcester, Springfield and several other cities similar work is done by the local branches of the Council of Jewish Women, but so effective an organization as that in Boston has not been found possible. This work, although so very much needed, is not done for the other girls who arrive.

The Associated Charities of Boston and other cities, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, the Hebrew Benevolent Association, the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the hospitals and many other social agencies which serve both the native and the foreign-born have found their work very much complicated, as they have been called upon to deal with people whose language and traditions were strange to them. Many of the difficulties in which they find these people are the result of mistakes and failures which come from maladjustment. To prevent these mistakes both private and public agencies must unite in a constructive program which will help the immigrant to help himself, not after but before he has become either delinquent or dependent.

¹ *Fourth Annual Report of the Social Service Department of the Massachusetts General Hospital*, p. 26.

CHAPTER XIII.

A STATE IMMIGRATION POLICY.

At the beginning of this report emphasis was laid on the fact that immigration to Massachusetts has so increased in volume that the proportion of the foreign-born to the total population has grown steadily larger; that this increase has been more marked in the past ten years, and even in the past three years, than ever before; and that, more important still, immigration has increased in complexity as the immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe and Asia have been added to those from Northern and Western Europe. The commission believes that the problems which come with a complex population cannot be properly solved without profound and continuous study of the needs of those who are coming. Such a study must consider the previous history and experience of these immigrant races in connection with local conditions in Massachusetts.

Immigration Bureaus in Other States.

A realization of the community loss which results from ignoring the immigrant has led several States to conclude that a State must, in its own interests, protect the immigrant against exploitation and assist him during the trying period of his adjustment to his new environment.

Twenty-eight States have bureaus or departments of immigration. In 12 States these are independent administrative bureaus; in 10 they are under the Department of Agriculture, and in 6, under the Department of Labor.¹

Except in the States of California, New Jersey and New York, and in the city of Cleveland, these bureaus of immigration are practically bureaus of publicity established for the purpose of attracting settlers, whether native or foreign born, to the State; and for this purpose most of these States have made substantial appropriations.

¹ These figures are taken from the report of James Mullenbach, formerly Executive Secretary of the Association of National and State Land and Labor and Immigration Officials, November, 1912.

The New York and California bureaus are intended not to attract immigrants to the State, but, in the interests of the State, to care for those who come. In 1910 following the recommendation made by the New York Commission on Immigration,¹ the Legislature of New York created a Bureau of Industries and Immigration, subject to the supervision and direction of the New York Commissioner of Labor.² This Bureau has very general powers. Among them are the following: to make inquiry into the condition, welfare and industrial opportunities of all aliens arriving and being within the State; to collect information with respect to the need and demand for labor and the supply of labor afforded by such aliens as shall from time to time arrive in the State; to ascertain their occupations and the treatment they may receive in employment. The Bureau is further authorized to co-operate with employment and immigration bureaus conducted under the authority of the federal government or by the government of any other State, and with public and philanthropic agencies interested in the distribution of labor; with the Commissioner of Education by supplying the names, ages and destination of alien children of school age, and with the local educational authorities in devising methods for the proper instruction of adult aliens in the English language and in civics. The Bureau is also authorized to inspect the labor camps and the employment and contract labor agencies dealing with aliens; to inspect the immigrant lodging places; to co-operate with other public agencies in enforcing the laws applicable to private bankers; to secure information with respect to aliens who may be in prisons, almshouses and insane asylums of the State; to co-operate with the United States officials so as to facilitate the deportation of such persons; and to investigate and inspect institutions for the temporary shelter and care of aliens, and philanthropic societies interested in the distribution of aliens. The Bureau has a further duty to investigate conditions prevailing at the various places where aliens are landed in order to co-operate with the proper authorities in affording them protection against the various forms of exploitation. Finally, the Bureau is required to investigate and study the general social condi-

¹ *Report of the N. Y. Commission on Immigration*, 1909, pp. 140-144.

² *Laws of New York*, 1910, ch. 514.



An alley lined with large, recently built wooden tenements on one side and "old settlers" on the other. (*From the Lawrence Survey, page 89.*)

tions of aliens within the State, for the purpose of inducing remedial action by the various agencies of the State possessing the requisite jurisdiction.¹

The California Legislature created in 1913 a permanent Commission on Immigration and Housing.² It is composed of five members, who are appointed and removed by the Governor. The enumeration of its powers and duties follows very closely the language of the New York law, and in addition, this commission is especially charged to call to the attention of the proper authorities any violations it may discover of labor and factory legislation and of a failure to observe the tenement house regulations. The members of the commission were appointed by the Governor, in October, 1913.

The new charter adopted by the city of Cleveland in the spring of 1913 provides for a city immigration office in the Division of Employment of the Department of Public Welfare in that city. This office will have full power to control the release of immigrants who arrive at the depots of the city; to provide temporary care for them; to investigate all the agencies affecting the immigrant and his welfare; to give advice and information to the immigrants of Cleveland; and to assist them in finding employment, learning English and preparing for naturalization.

The New Jersey Commission on Immigration was created in 1911 to investigate the needs of the immigrant and to recommend to the State an immigration policy.³

In these States, and in the city of Cleveland, there has been official recognition of the fact that although the admission of immigrants is in the hands of the federal government, the important and difficult task of adjustment belongs to the State or city. The creation of this Commission on Immigration to study and report recommendations was a recognition of this same need by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

¹ This statement has been compiled from the report of James Mullenbach, formerly Executive Secretary of the Association of National and State Land, Labor and Immigration Officials, to that association in November, 1912.

² *Laws of California*, 1913, ch. 318.

³ The members of the commission were not appointed until late in 1911, and the commission did not organize until 1912. A preliminary report to the Legislature was made in February, 1913, requesting an extension of time and an appropriation of \$5,000. This request was granted (*Laws of New Jersey*, 1913, ch. 92), and the commission continued its work during the year 1913.

A State Board of Immigration needed in Massachusetts.

Some of the powers and duties which have been given to the Bureau of Industries and Immigration in New York, and to the Commission on Immigration and Housing in California, this commission finds can be best performed in Massachusetts by existing boards or departments. The proper education of the immigrant, it believes, is of great importance to the State, and it has therefore recommended that this should be made the special work of a deputy commissioner of the State Board of Education, and that the State should participate with local communities in providing these immigrants with the education which the welfare of the State requires them to have.¹ The problem of reducing the irregularity of employment, of guidance in the choice of an occupation, of the prevention of the exploitation of those seeking work concerns the American as well as the immigrant; the commission has therefore recommended the enlargement and the development of the State free employment offices, so that immigrants as well as all others may be directed to the work for which they are best suited.²

But after everything possible has been assigned to existing boards, there are still unprovided for certain very important things, which, for its own future welfare, the State must undertake to provide for the immigrant. These are, among other things, the establishment of a central office (and such branch offices as the population of the State necessitates) to which immigrants shall be encouraged to go for information and advice. The peculiar helplessness of the immigrants, and their need of disinterested guidance, have been referred to again and again. They are most of them young men and women having their first experience in industrial life, and encountering for the first time not only the problems of an American city but of any city. Many of them are only one generation removed from serfdom, and their helplessness is partly that of the recently emancipated. These people cannot be properly guided by an American who has made no study of the sources of their bewilderment, nor by those friends who have only recently come themselves and are

¹ See ch. VI.

² See ch. II, sec. 2.

not yet qualified to interpret the complexities of our life; and least of all can they be properly guided by the people whose interest in them is purely commercial. It seems, therefore, necessary that the State should undertake to give this advice and guidance.

A State Board of Immigration would serve as a clearing house of information useful to the immigrant, and would be able to apply the civic, social and philanthropic resources of the community to the needs of the immigrant. The offices of the board should be open evenings, in larger places daily, and those placed in special foreign colonies should have a continuous service in the local tongue. In smaller places special office hours with special agents, present by appointment for Italian, Yiddish, Polish and French speaking inquirers and others, might be sufficient.

In addition to its functions in connection with the answering of inquiries and the investigation of complaints, a State Board of Immigration should give special attention to the problems which arise at the docks and while the immigrant is in transit through Massachusetts. The unnecessary suffering which has resulted from a failure to do this in the past is discussed in chapter VIII of this report. The port of Boston is rapidly increasing in importance, and the need for this protection is, in consequence, becoming greater.

Such a board should also make special investigations from time to time of new groups and new conditions, so that it may be prepared to offer the expert advice of which the State, local communities and social agencies are so much in need. It should include in its force one special agent competent to give advice which is so much needed by those desiring to settle on farms or to secure homes.¹

The commission believes that the welfare of the State or of the immigrant will not be best served by unnecessary emphasis on the fact that the immigrant is foreign and not American born, and that so far as possible his needs should be considered in connection with similar needs of the native-born. There is, however, no justification in ignoring, to the irreparable injury

¹ See pp. 76, 77.

of the immigrant and the Commonwealth, the fact that solely because of his ignorance of the language and of the country he requires a kind of assistance which the native-born does not need.

The Commission therefore recommends that a State Board of Immigration which will perform the functions just enumerated shall be created.¹

¹ The need of such a Board is touched on in pp. 113, 161, 166, 167, 168, 174, 191, 196, 197, 209, 210; for the proposed Act to create such a Board, see p. 233.

PART II.

PROPOSED ACTS.

AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT OF ILLITERATE AND NON-ENGLISH SPEAKING PERSONS.

Be it enacted, etc., as follows:

SECTION 1. A minor between the ages of fourteen and seventeen years of age who is illiterate or non-English speaking in the sense that he does not possess the educational qualification prescribed in section one of chapter forty-four of the Revised Laws, as amended by section one of chapter seven hundred and seventy-nine of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and thirteen, may be employed for not more than five and a half hours in any one day, within the hours and in the kinds of labor permitted by law to literate persons of the same age: *provided*, that such minor shall be free to attend and shall attend a three-hour session of school either between the hours of eight in the morning and twelve noon, or between the hours of one and five in the afternoon of each school day so long as the schools provided for his attendance are in session, and shall furnish his employer each week a record of regular attendance thereon; *provided, also*, that the person, firm, or corporation employing such minor procures and keeps on file, accessible to the attendance officers of the city or town, to agents of the board of education, and to the state board of labor and industries or its authorized agents or inspectors, a special half-time employment certificate as hereinafter prescribed.

SECTION 2. The special half-time employment certificate referred to in section one of this act shall be designed, furnished, and issued in accordance with the terms of sections fifty-eight and sixty of chapter five hundred and fourteen of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and nine, as amended by sections sixteen and eighteen of chapter seven hundred and seventy-nine of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and thirteen, except that the school record and the statement of grade last attended shall not be required and the certificate shall also distinctly show the absence of the educational qualification required by said section sixty. Both the certificate and the employer's promise shall also distinctly show the limited nature of the proposed employment. The applicant for such certificate, his employer or intending employer, all persons offering evidence in behalf of the applicant, and the person issuing the certificate shall be subject to the same obligations, restrictions, and penalties as if the certificate were issued under the provision of said chapter five hundred and fourteen as amended.

SECTION 3. Every person between fourteen and twenty-one years of age who does not possess the educational qualification prescribed in section one of chapter forty-four of the Revised Laws, as amended by section one of chapter seven hundred and seventy-nine of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and thirteen, if under seventeen years of age shall attend while employed one session and while unemployed two sessions each day of the day school, whether special or regular, maintained in or for the city or town of his residence for the instruction of such illiterates and non-English speaking persons in accordance with the provisions of this act, so long as such schools are in session; and if over seventeen years of age, such person shall regularly attend the evening school, or if employed in the evening, one session each day of the day school, special or regular, provided in or for the city or town of his residence during the entire period such schools are in session; and failing so to attend school, if under sixteen years of age, shall be dealt with as an habitual absentee, and if over sixteen, may upon conviction be punished by a fine of not more than twenty dollars.

The person authorized to issue employment certificates or teachers acting under his authority may, however, excuse unavoidable absence.

SECTION 4. Every employer of an illiterate or non-English speaking person between fourteen and twenty-one years of age under the provisions of this act, and every person having under his control such a person, shall cause him to attend school as provided in section three of this act, and if he fails for five sessions within any period of six months while such control obtains to cause such child to attend school as provided in this act, he shall upon complaint by an attendance officer and conviction thereof be punished by a fine of not less than five nor more than one hundred dollars.

SECTION 5. Every city or town in which there are twenty or more persons between fourteen and seventeen years of age who do not possess the educational qualification referred to in section one shall provide for such illiterate or non-English speaking persons instruction in the English language, American citizenship, and such subjects as the state board of education may direct; such instruction shall be given in a special school or special schools with three-hour sessions in the morning between the hours of eight and twelve or in the afternoon between one o'clock and five, or both, for five days per week for not less than forty weeks in each year: *provided, however*, that with the approval of the state board of education, two or more cities and towns may unite in the establishment and maintenance of such schools; *provided, further*, that a city or town in which the number of such illiterates is less than twenty, or in which such illiterates although in excess of twenty are so scattered as to make the maintenance of special schools impracticable, shall make such provision for their instruction either in the regular public schools, by maintaining special schools severally or in union with other cities or towns, by paying tuition in special schools maintained in other cities or towns, or otherwise, as the state board of education may approve.

SECTION 6. Every city or town in which there are fifteen or more persons between seventeen and twenty-one years of age who do not possess the educational qualification referred to in section one, shall maintain evening schools for the instruction of such persons in the English language, American citizenship, and such subjects as the state board of education may prescribe at least three evenings per week for not less than forty weeks in each year; *provided, however*, that with the approval of the state board of education two or more cities and towns may unite in the maintenance of such evening schools, or one city or town may make provision for its students in evening schools maintained by another, upon terms that may be agreed upon.

SECTION 7. Any city or town required by the provisions of this act to maintain special evening schools, and any other city or town when petitioned so to do by not less than twenty persons desiring and qualified to attend such a school, shall maintain for at least three evenings per week throughout the period during which it maintains the other special schools provided for by this act, or if it maintains no others then throughout the public school year, an evening school for more advanced instruction for persons over fourteen years of age who possess the educational qualification to exempt them and are otherwise exempt from compulsory attendance upon day or evening school. The attendance of such persons shall be voluntary, subject to the provisions of chapter three hundred and nine of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and eleven. If the average attendance for any period of two weeks falls below fifteen, such school may be discontinued. The provisions of this section shall not apply to evening high schools or other schools for instruction beyond grammar grade.

SECTION 8. Any city or town may admit to the special day and shall admit to the special evening schools provided for in sections five and six, illiterates or non-English speaking persons over twenty-one years of age, or may maintain special schools or provide special instruction either in the day or evening for such persons, whose attendance shall be voluntary.

SECTION 9. All special day or evening schools for illiterates or non-English speaking persons, and all evening schools of grammar grade provided for by this act, shall be established and maintained under the direction of the state board of education, and cities and towns maintaining such schools or instruction approved by the state board of education as to location, organization, equipment, courses of study, qualifications of teachers, methods of instruction, and expenditure of money shall receive reimbursement as provided in section ten.

SECTION 10. The commonwealth, in order to aid in the maintenance of the approved schools provided for in this act, shall pay annually from the treasury to each city or town maintaining or sharing in the maintenance of such approved schools an amount proportioned as follows to the cost of instruction, including only the sum raised by local taxation and expended for salaries of teachers, principals, supervisors, and administrative officers employed in such special approved schools, or for tuition in the

same. If a city or town for the fiscal year for which it is to be reimbursed has raised by local taxation and expended for the support of the public schools as that term is used in section four of chapter forty-three of the Revised Laws less than four dollars for every thousand of its valuation, the commonwealth shall pay four tenths of the cost of instruction of the special approved schools maintained by the city or town; if four dollars but not four and a half per thousand, five tenths of said cost; if four and a half but not five dollars per thousand, six tenths; if five dollars or more per thousand, seven tenths; *provided, however*, that any sums received or due for the tuition in such special schools of students from another city or town shall be deducted from the cost of instruction before reckoning the share to be paid by the commonwealth.

SECTION 11. No illiterate or non-English speaking minor under seventeen years of age shall be employed or harbored in any construction camp or other place in which laborers are temporarily gathered away from their homes, and in which they temporarily abide for the prosecution of any public or contract work. If in such camp or other gathering place there are employed (1) illiterate persons between seventeen and twenty-one years of age in such number as under the provisions of section six to require the establishment of an evening school for their instruction, or (2) twenty illiterate persons, adult or minor, who signify their desire to attend such an evening school, and if such persons are not residents of the city or town, or if such camp or gathering place is so located as to make it impracticable for them to attend the established schools provided for the instruction of such persons, then evening schools necessary for their instruction shall be established and maintained by the commonwealth under the direction of the state board of education. Whenever such schools are established they shall likewise be open to adults who may desire to attend.

SECTION 12. For the purpose of supervising, directing, and maintaining the special day and evening schools and special instruction provided for in this act the state board of education shall appoint a special deputy commissioner and such subordinate officers as may be necessary, subject to the provisions of section three of chapter four hundred and fifty-seven of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and nine, as amended by chapter four hundred and twenty-one of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and thirteen relative to appointment, powers, duties, salaries, and term of service.

And the state board of education acting in accordance with the spirit of this act shall have power to modify its literal application to local conditions.

SECTION 13. Section one of chapter forty-four of the Revised Laws, as amended by section one of chapter seven hundred and seventy-nine of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and thirteen, is hereby further amended by inserting in line sixteen of said section after the words "provided for" the words: — in chapter of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and fourteen and, — so as to read as follows: — *Section 1.* Every child between seven and fourteen years of age, every child under

sixteen years of age who does not possess such ability to read, write and spell in the English language as is required for the completion of the fourth grade of the public schools of the city or town in which he resides, and every child under sixteen years of age who has not received an employment certificate as provided in this act and is not engaged in some regular employment or business for at least six hours per day or has not the written permission of the superintendent of schools of the city or town in which he resides to engage in profitable employment at home, shall attend a public day school in said city or town, or some other day school approved by the school committee, during the entire time the public schools are in session, subject to such exceptions as are provided for in chapter

of the acts of nineteen hundred and fourteen, in sections four, five and six of this chapter, and in section three of chapter forty-two of the Revised Laws, as amended by chapter four hundred and thirty-three of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and two, and by chapter five hundred and thirty-seven of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and eleven; but such attendance shall not be required of a child whose physical or mental condition is such as to render attendance inexpedient or impracticable, or who is being otherwise instructed in a manner approved in advance by the superintendent of schools or the school committee. The superintendent of schools, or teachers in so far as authorized by said superintendent or by the school committee, may excuse cases of necessary absence for other causes not exceeding five day sessions or ten half-day sessions in any period of six months. For the purposes of this section, school committees shall approve a private school only when the instruction in all the studies required by law is in the English language, and when they are satisfied that such instruction equals in thoroughness and efficiency, and in the progress made therein, the instruction in the public schools in the same city or town; but they shall not refuse to approve a private school on account of the religious teaching therein.

SECTION 14. Section fifty-seven of chapter five hundred and fourteen of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and nine, as amended by section fifteen of chapter seven hundred and seventy-nine of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and thirteen, is hereby further amended by substituting for the word "sixteen", in the first and fourteenth lines, the word: — seventeen, — and by inserting in the tenth line after the word "provided", the words: — or as provided in section two of chapter of the laws of the year nineteen hundred and fourteen to be, — so as to read as follows: — *Section 57.* No child between fourteen and seventeen years of age shall be employed or be permitted to work in, about or in connection with any factory, workshop, manufacturing, mechanical or mercantile establishment unless the person, firm or corporation employing such child procures and keeps on file accessible to the attendance officers of the city or town, to agents of the state board of education, and to the state board of labor and industries or its authorized agents or inspectors, the employment certificate as provided to be issued to such child, or as provided in

section two, and keeps a complete list of the names and ages of all such children employed therein conspicuously posted near the principal entrance of the building in which such children are employed: *provided, however*, that children who are over fourteen but under seventeen years of age shall be permitted to work in mercantile establishments on Saturdays between the hours of seven in the morning and six in the evening, without such certificate. On termination of the employment of a child whose employment certificate is on file, said certificate shall be returned by the employer within two days after said termination to the office of the superintendent of schools from which it was issued.

SECTION 15. Section sixty-six of said chapter five hundred and fourteen as amended is hereby further amended by substituting for the word "sixteen", in the first and twenty-third lines, the word: — seventeen, — and by inserting in line twenty-eight after the words "maintained in" the words: — or for, — so as to read as follows: — *Section 66.* No child who is over seventeen and under twenty-one years of age shall be employed in a factory, workshop, manufacturing, mechanical or mercantile establishment unless his employer procures and keeps on file an educational certificate showing the age of the child and his ability or inability to read and write as hereinafter provided. Such certificates shall be issued by the person authorized by this act to issue employment certificates.

The person authorized to issue such educational certificates shall, so far as is practicable, require the proof of age stated in section fifty-eight. He shall examine the child and certify whether or not he possesses the educational qualifications enumerated in section one of chapter forty-four of the Revised Laws, as amended. Every such certificate shall be signed in the presence of the person issuing the same by the child in whose name it is issued.

Every employer of such children shall keep their educational certificates accessible to any officer authorized to enforce the provisions of this act, and shall return said certificates to the office from which they were issued within two days after the date of the termination of the employment of said children. If the educational certificate of any child who is over seventeen and under twenty-one years of age fails to show that said child possesses the educational qualifications enumerated in section one of chapter forty-four of the Revised Laws, as amended, then no person shall employ such child while a public evening school is maintained in or for the city or town in which the child resides, unless such child is a regular attendant at such evening school or at a day school and presents to his employer each week a school record of such attendance. When such record shows unexcused absences, such attendance shall be deemed to be irregular and insufficient. The person authorized to issue educational certificates, or teachers acting under his authority, may, however, excuse justifiable absence. Whoever employs a child in violation of the provisions of this section shall forfeit not more than one hundred dollars for each offence, to the use of the evening schools of such city or town. A parent, guardian

or custodian who permits a child to be employed in violation of the provisions of this section shall forfeit not more than twenty dollars, to the use of the evening schools of such city or town.

SECTION 16. The sums raised by taxation and expended by the several cities and towns for the maintenance of special schools and special instruction under the provisions of this act shall not be included with the expenditure of the school committee for the support of public schools where such expenditure is limited to a certain proportion of the tax rate or to a certain percentage of the valuation, or where the inclusion of said sums would otherwise affect the amount available for support of public schools or of special or independent schools, whether from local taxation, from the Massachusetts School Fund, or from other state aid.

SECTION 17. Chapter four hundred and sixty-seven of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and thirteen, and all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act, are hereby repealed.

SECTION 18. This act shall take effect September first in the year nineteen hundred and fourteen, but it shall not invalidate any educational certificate theretofore duly issued to a person over sixteen years of age, or any reissue of such certificate, nor shall it change the conditions under which the person for whom such certificate has been issued may be employed.

AN ACT TO PROVIDE THAT THE BOARD OF EDUCATION SHALL SUPERVISE
THE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN.

Be it enacted, etc., as follows:

SECTION 1. Section one of chapter forty-four of the Revised Laws, as amended by chapter three hundred and twenty of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and five, and by chapter three hundred and eighty-three of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and six, and by section one of chapter seven hundred and seventy-nine of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and thirteen, is hereby amended by striking out the words "school committee", in the fourteenth line, and inserting in place thereof the words: — state board of education, — also by striking out the words "school committees", in the thirty-first and thirty-second lines, and inserting in place thereof the words: — the state board of education, — also by striking out the words "they are", in the thirty-fourth line, and inserting in place thereof the words: — it is, — also by striking out the word "same", in the thirty-seventh line, and by inserting after the word "town", in the same line, the words: — in which the private school in question is situated, — also by striking out the word "they", in the same line, and inserting in place thereof the word: — it, — also by adding at the end of the said section the words: — School committees when and as required by the state board of education shall furnish detailed statistical information regarding all private schools within their corporate boundaries, — so as to read as follows: — *Section 1.* Every child between seven and fourteen years of age, every child under sixteen years of age who does not possess such

ability to read, write and spell in the English language as is required for the completion of the fourth grade of the public schools of the city or town in which he resides, and every child under sixteen years of age who has not received an employment certificate as provided in this act and is not engaged in some regular employment or business for at least six hours per day or has not the written permission of the superintendent of schools of the city or town in which he resides to engage in profitable employment at home, shall attend a public day school in said city or town, or some other day school approved by the state board of education, during the entire time the public schools are in session, subject to such exceptions as are provided for in sections four, five and six of this chapter and in section three of chapter forty-two of the Revised Laws, as amended by chapter four hundred and thirty-three of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and two, and by chapter five hundred and thirty-seven of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and eleven; but such attendance shall not be required of a child whose physical or mental condition is such as to render attendance inexpedient or impracticable, or who is being otherwise instructed in a manner approved in advance by the superintendent of schools or the school committee. The superintendent of schools, or teachers in so far as authorized by said superintendent or by the school committee, may excuse cases of necessary absence for other causes not exceeding five day sessions or ten half-day sessions in any period of six months. For the purposes of this section, the state board of education shall approve a private school only when the instruction in all the studies required by law is in the English language, and when it is satisfied that such instruction equals in thoroughness and efficiency, and in the progress made therein, the instruction in the public schools in the city or town in which the private school in question is situated; but it shall not refuse to approve a private school on account of the religious teaching therein. School committees when and as required by the board of education shall furnish detailed statistical information regarding all private schools within their corporate boundaries.

SECTION 2. Section two of the chapter designated in section one of this act is hereby amended by adding at the end of the said section the following words: — Whenever the state board of education has reason to believe that any person in any city or town is failing to comply with the law respecting school attendance, and that the school committee of said city or town through its attendance officer is failing to take effective measures to enforce the law, the state board of education may formally and in writing bring to the attention of the said school committee the facts on which the board's beliefs in the matter are based, request said school committee to take action, and demand of said school committee a written report to be made within fifteen days of the date of the board's notification, the said report to state the action taken by or at the direction of the school committee, the reasons therefor, and the results thereof. Failure on the part of any school committee to make report to the state board of

education as herein required shall be punishable by a fine of not less than twenty nor more than two hundred dollars.

Whenever any school committee on due notification and request by the state board of education fails to take action within fifteen days after such notification and request, or whenever the action taken by such school committee or the results thereof are unsatisfactory to the state board of education, the said board shall have all powers conferred on the said school committee and its attendance officer to prosecute through any of its deputies or agents violations of the school attendance law.

For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this section and of section one of this act, the state board of education may appoint additional deputies and assistants as it may deem necessary. The additional expense so incurred shall not exceed ten thousand dollars a year for salaries and two thousand dollars a year for traveling expenses.

AN ACT RELATIVE TO THE TAKING OF AN ANNUAL SCHOOL CENSUS.

Be it enacted, etc., as follows:

Section three of chapter forty-three of the Revised Laws is hereby amended by striking out all words of the said section three and substituting therefor the following, so as to read as follows: — *Section 3.* The school committee of each city and town shall keep a permanent record of the names, ages and such other information as may be required by the state board of education, of all persons between five and twenty-one years of age residing in its city or town; such record shall be kept as directed and on forms as prescribed by the state board of education, and shall be thoroughly revised annually between the fifteenth day of August and the first day of November, and at such other times as the committee may find advisable. Whoever, having under his control a minor over five years of age, withholds information sought by a school committee or its agents under the provisions of this section, or makes a false statement relative thereto, shall be punished by a fine of not more than fifty dollars. The state board of education is authorized and directed to make examination, through its agents, from time to time, as it may find advisable, of the census records of any city or town; and the school committee of any city or town shall make such returns from its census records and at such times as the state board of education may require.

AN ACT RELATIVE TO COURT INTERPRETERS.

Be it enacted, etc., as follows:

SECTION 1. The justices of any court in which the services of an interpreter are needed shall appoint from an eligible list prepared by the civil service commission such official interpreters, temporary or permanent, as they may deem necessary for the criminal or civil sessions of the court, and shall fix their compensation. Such interpreters shall hold their positions at the pleasure of the court, and shall render such additional service as any justice of the court may require. The justices shall

forthwith discharge any such interpreter who shall be found by them to have requested or received, directly or indirectly, any gratuity, bonus or fee in connection with any case pending or in course of preparation for presentation to any court. The name of any person so discharged shall be stricken from the eligible list. The provisions of this section shall not prevent the court from employing, and allowing reasonable compensation to, other interpreters when the services of those interpreters whose names are on the eligible list are not available or when there is no eligible list.

SECTION 2. The civil service commission is hereby authorized and directed to hold examinations for the position of court interpreter, and to prepare a list of persons eligible to be so employed.

AN ACT CONCERNING STATE FREE EMPLOYMENT OFFICES.

Be it enacted, etc., as follows:

SECTION 1. From and after the first day of September, in the year nineteen hundred and fourteen, there shall be established under the authority and direction of the board of labor and industries a bureau to be known as the bureau of employment. The four employment offices now under the care and direction of the director of the bureau of statistics shall be maintained and taken over by the said bureau of employment. The board of labor and industries shall appoint a chief who shall have general supervision of the work of the bureau, and said board may take such affirmative action as may seem to it feasible for the carrying out of any or all of the provisions of this act.

SECTION 2. The business of such employment offices as shall be maintained under the provisions of this act shall be to receive and register applications for employment and applications for employees, and to assist employees to obtain employment and employers to obtain employees, and to perform such other functions in connection with the work as the said bureau may direct.

SECTION 3. The bureau of employment shall also investigate and consider whether it is possible for it, through said employment offices, by conferences with employers, by intercommunication between the employment offices of this and other states and of the United States, by the collection and distribution of statistics and information, or by any other means, to provide a more abundant and better supply of farm labor throughout the commonwealth; to bring about a better system of shifting employees from one industry to another in accordance with the seasonal fluctuations of business in the various branches of industry; to secure more speedy and suitable employment for immigrants; to assist young persons just entering the field of employment to choose and obtain such employment as will give them the best available opportunity for future development; or in any other way to reduce the evils and economic losses resulting from unemployment and misemployment of both the skilled and the unskilled and bring about a more scientific organization of the labor market of the commonwealth.

SECTION 4. The chief of the bureau of employment shall, with the approval of the board of labor and industries, appoint a superintendent for each of the offices maintained under section two, who shall, under the direction of said chief, have the general management of said office and perform such other duties in connection therewith as said bureau may require. The chief of the bureau, with the approval of the board of labor and industries, shall appoint an assistant superintendent, such clerks and such other agents as may be deemed necessary for the proper conduct of the business of each of said employment offices. Such superintendents, assistant superintendents, such clerks and agents as may be appointed shall receive such salary as may be determined by the board of labor and industries, and may be removed from office at any time by said board. All such superintendents, assistant superintendents and clerks shall be classified and appointed in accordance with the provisions of chapter nineteen of the Revised Laws, and acts in amendment thereof, and the rules adopted thereunder.

SECTION 5. No fees direct or indirect shall in any case be taken from those seeking the benefits of said employment offices. Any superintendent or clerk who directly or indirectly charges or receives any fee in the performance of his duties shall be punished by a fine of not more than one hundred dollars, or by imprisonment in jail for a term not exceeding thirty days, and shall be disqualified from holding any further position in connection with said employment offices.

SECTION 6. In registering at any employment office maintained under the provisions of this act applications for employment and for employees wanted, preference shall be given to residents of the commonwealth.

SECTION 7. The bureau shall require each superintendent to supply information in regard to the local labor market, and shall arrange for its exchange among the state employment offices, city and town clerks, and such other agencies or persons as the chief of the bureau may direct. Every city and town clerk shall post the lists received as aforesaid in one or more conspicuous places in the city or town.

SECTION 8. The board of labor and industries and the chief of the bureau of employment, acting together, may appoint unpaid advisory committees. Such committees may be local committees co-operating with the general work of special offices, or they may be committees, state or local, to co-operate in connection with special aspects of the employment problem, as, for instance, the employment of boys, of girls, of women, of immigrants, or employment in special industries or occupations.

SECTION 9. Sections one to nine, inclusive, of chapter five hundred and fourteen of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and nine, and so much of chapter three hundred and seventy-one of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and nine as gives to the bureau of statistics or the director thereof any powers or duties with reference to free employment offices, are hereby repealed, to take effect on the first day of September, in the year nineteen hundred and fourteen.

AN ACT RELATIVE TO THE OFFICE OF PUBLIC DEFENDERS.

Be it enacted, etc., as follows:

SECTION 1. There shall annually be nominated and elected a public defender for each district in which a district attorney is nominated and elected, and he shall be nominated and elected in the same manner in which the district attorney is nominated and elected. Each public defender so elected shall serve for the same term and receive the same compensation as the district attorney in the same district, and shall have authority to appoint the same number of assistants, if there be any, and to expend the same amount for clerical services. It shall be the duty of the said public defenders and their assistants to represent in the superior court all persons on trial in the said court who have no counsel and who desire to have counsel, and the said public defenders may, by themselves or their assistants, defend any person on trial in any police, municipal or district court or before any trial justice, if they deem that justice so requires.

SECTION 2. Any judge of the superior court or of any municipal, district or police court or any trial justice may require the public defender for his district to represent and defend any person on trial before him in case he deems such representation necessary, in justice to the person accused.

SECTION 3. The public defenders herein provided for shall be nominated and elected in the current year at the same time and manner in which the district attorneys are nominated and elected, and their duties hereunder shall begin upon their election and qualification.

AN ACT RELATIVE TO PERSONS, PARTNERSHIPS, ASSOCIATIONS OR CORPORATIONS ENGAGED IN THE BUSINESS OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE AND OF RECEIVING MONEY ON DEPOSIT.

Be it enacted, etc., as follows:

SECTION 1. Section one of chapter four hundred and eight of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and six, as amended by section one of chapter three hundred and seventy-seven of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and seven, by section one of chapter three hundred and thirty-eight of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and ten, and by chapter one hundred and seventy-nine of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and thirteen, and all other acts in amendment thereto, is hereby further amended by omitting after the word "corporations", in line two, the words: — now or hereafter engaged in the selling of steamship or railroad tickets for transportation to or from foreign countries, or in the supplying of laborers, that, in conjunction with said business, — and after the word "country", in line nineteen, the words: — If any person, partnership or member of a partnership, or any association or corporation engaged or financially interested in the selling of tickets or supplying

of laborers as aforesaid is also engaged or financially interested in the business of receiving deposits of money as aforesaid, or if any person, partnership or member of a partnership, or any association or corporation engaged or financially interested in the business of receiving deposits of money as aforesaid is also engaged or financially interested in the selling of tickets or supplying of laborers as aforesaid, such person, partnership, member of a partnership, association or corporation shall be held to be subject to the provisions of this section, under whatever name or by whatever persons the said business of selling tickets or supplying laborers or the said business of receiving deposits is carried on, — and by inserting after the word “sum”, in the twelfth line, the words: — not less than ten thousand dollars, — so as to read as follows: — *Section 1.* All persons, partnerships, associations or corporations that carry on the business of receiving deposits of money for safe-keeping, or for the purpose of transmitting the same, or equivalents thereof, to foreign countries, or for any other purpose, shall, before entering into or continuing in the said business, except as hereinafter provided, make, execute and deliver a bond to the treasurer and receiver general in such sum, not less than ten thousand dollars, as the bank commissioner may deem necessary to cover money or deposits received for the aforesaid purposes by such persons, partnerships, associations or corporations, the bond to be conditioned upon the faithful holding and repayment of the money deposited as aforesaid, and upon the faithful holding and transmission of any money, or equivalent thereof, which shall be delivered to them for transmission to a foreign country, and, in the event of the insolvency or bankruptcy of the principal, upon the payment of the full amount of such bond to the assignee, receiver or trustee of the principal, as the case may require, for the benefit of such persons as shall deliver money to said principal for safe-keeping or for the purpose of transmitting the same to a foreign country.

SECTION 2. This act shall take effect upon its passage.

AN ACT RELATIVE TO THE INVESTMENT OF DEPOSITS TAKEN BY CERTAIN
PERSONS, PARTNERSHIPS, ASSOCIATIONS OR CORPORATIONS.

Be it enacted, etc., as follows:

SECTION 1. Every person, partnership, association or corporation subject to the provisions of chapter four hundred and twenty-eight of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and five, and of all acts in addition thereto or in amendment thereof, that receives deposits of money for safe-keeping shall hereafter invest or deposit such money only as follows: —

First. In mortgages of real estate situated in this commonwealth, but not more than fifty per cent of the whole amount of deposits shall be so invested.

Second. In those securities and to the extent prescribed by the second,

third, fifth and sixth clauses of section sixty-eight of chapter five hundred and ninety, acts of the year nineteen hundred and eight.

Third. In the stock of a banking association situated in the New England states and incorporated under the authority of the United States, or in the stock of a trust company incorporated under the laws of and doing business within this commonwealth, but such *person, partnership, association or corporation* shall not hold, both by way of investment and as security for loans, more than twenty per cent of its deposits in the stock of such associations or companies, nor in any one such association or company more than three per cent of its deposits in, nor more than one hundred thousand dollars nor more than one quarter of the capital stock of such association or company.

Such *person, partnership, association or corporation* may deposit not more than *twenty-five* per cent of its deposits in any banking association incorporated under the authority of the United States and located in this commonwealth, and in any trust company incorporated in this commonwealth; but such deposit shall not in any case exceed five hundred thousand dollars nor twenty-five per cent of the capital stock and surplus fund of such depository. *The total deposits so made shall be not less than twenty per cent of the whole amount of deposits held for safe-keeping by said person, partnership, association or corporation.*

Fourth. In loans of the classes hereafter described, payable and to be paid or renewed at a time not exceeding one year from the date thereof; but not more than one third of the deposits shall be so invested, nor shall the total liabilities to such corporation of a person, partnership, association or corporation for money borrowed upon personal security, including in the liabilities of a partnership or company not incorporated the liabilities of the several members thereof, exceed five per cent of such deposits; but said limitations, except as to time in which said loans shall be paid or renewed, shall not apply to loans made under the provisions of paragraph (2) of subdivision *e* of this clause.

a. A note which is the joint and several obligation of three or more responsible citizens of this commonwealth: *provided*, that the total liabilities to such corporation of a person, partnership or association, for money borrowed under this subdivision, including in the liabilities of a partnership or company not incorporated the liabilities of the several members thereof, shall not exceed one per cent of the deposits of such corporation.

b. A note, with one or more substantial sureties or endorsers: (1) of a corporation incorporated in this commonwealth; or (2) of a manufacturing corporation with a commission house as surety or endorser: *provided*, that such commission house is incorporated in this commonwealth, or has an established place of business and a partner resident therein; or (3) of an association or corporation at least one half of the real and personal property of which is located within the New England states: *provided*, that at least one such surety or endorser shall be a

citizen of or corporation incorporated in this commonwealth: *provided*, that no such loan shall be made or renewed unless within eighteen months next preceding the making or renewing of such loan an examination of the affairs, assets and liabilities of the borrowing corporation or association has been made, at the expense of such borrowing corporation or association, by an accountant approved by the commissioner. The report of such examination shall be made in such form as the commissioner may prescribe. A copy of the report certified to by the accountant shall be delivered by the borrowing corporation or association to the savings bank before such loan or a renewal thereof is made, and a copy so certified shall be delivered by the accountant to the commissioner within thirty days after the completion of said examination.

c. A bond or note of a gas, electric light, telephone or a street railway corporation incorporated or doing business in this commonwealth and subject to the control and supervision thereof: *provided*, that the net earnings of said corporation, after payment of all operating expenses, taxes and interest, as reported to, and according to the requirements of, the proper authorities of the commonwealth, have been in each of the three fiscal years next preceding the making or renewing of such loan equal to not less than four per cent on all its capital stock outstanding in each of said years; and *provided*, that the gross earnings of said corporation in the fiscal year next preceding the making or renewing of such loan have been not less than one hundred thousand dollars.

d. A bond or note issued, assumed or guaranteed by endorsement as to both principal and interest, by a railroad corporation which complies with all the requirements of subdivision *b*, or of subdivision *e* preceding paragraph five, of clause third: *provided*, that the principal of such bond or note described in either this or the preceding subdivision is payable at a time not exceeding one year after the date of investment therein.

e. A note of a responsible borrower in such form as the commissioner may approve, with a pledge as collateral of: —

(1) One or more mortgages of real estate situated in this commonwealth.

(2) Bonds or notes authorized for investment by clauses second, third, fourth, fifth or sixth at no more than ninety per cent of the market value thereof, at any time while such note is held by such corporation; or

(3) Deposit books of depositors in savings banks at no more than ninety per cent of the amount of deposits shown therein; or

(4) Shares of railroad corporations described in subdivisions *a*, *b* or *e* of clause third at no more than eighty per cent of the market value thereof, at any time while such note is held by such corporation; or

(5) Other bonds, notes or shares of corporations or associations *at not more than eighty per cent* of their market value.

(6) Policies issued by life insurance companies, approved by the bank commissioner and properly assigned, but not exceeding ninety per cent of the cash surrender value of the policies assigned as security for the payment of such loan.

Fifth. In the purchase of real estate situated within the commonwealth, but not more than fifty per cent of the whole amount of deposits shall be so invested.

SECTION 2. All moneys received for safe-keeping prior to the passage of this act, which are otherwise invested or deposited, shall be invested or deposited in accordance with the provisions of this act, at least one third part before the first day of January in each year, beginning with the year nineteen hundred and fifteen, and all such deposits shall be so invested or deposited before the first day of January in the year nineteen hundred and seventeen.

SECTION 3. The investments and deposits made in accordance with the provisions of this act shall be held as solely for the security and payment of the moneys received for safe-keeping, and shall not be mingled with the investments of the capital or other money or property in the hands of or belonging to any such person, partnership, association or corporation, or be liable for the debts or obligations thereof until after the deposits of money received for safe-keeping have been paid in full. The accounts and transactions of all moneys received for safe-keeping shall be kept separate and distinct from any other business transacted by any such person, partnership, association or corporation.

SECTION 4. This act shall take effect upon its passage.

AN ACT TO PROMOTE THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAWS RELATIVE TO
THE RECEIVING OF MONEY FOR TRANSMISSION TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES
AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES.

Be it enacted, etc., as follows:

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the bank commissioner and of the head of the police department in cities and towns to enforce the provisions of chapter four hundred and twenty-eight of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and five, and of all acts in amendment thereof and in addition thereto, relative to the taking of deposits by certain persons, firms and corporations and to the receiving of money for transmission to foreign countries or for safe-keeping.

SECTION 2. The bank commissioner shall have the right, by himself or by his representatives, to examine the books of any unlicensed person, partnership, association or corporation which he has reason to believe is engaged in any business to which the provisions of the acts mentioned in the preceding section, or in chapter three hundred and thirty-eight of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and ten and of the amendments thereof, apply.

SECTION 3. The bank commissioner may apply to the superior court for the county in which any such person, partnership, association or corporation is carrying on business for an injunction to restrain such person, partnership, association or corporation from carrying on the said business, and may petition the court for the appointment of a receiver for such person, partnership, association or corporation; and if such person, part-

nership, association or corporation is found by the court to be acting in violation of any provision of any of the laws above mentioned, an injunction shall be granted and a receiver appointed.

AN ACT RELATIVE TO MONEY RECEIVED FOR TRANSMISSION TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Be it enacted, etc., as follows:

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of any person, partnership, association or corporation to which the provisions of chapter four hundred and twenty-eight of the acts of the year nineteen hundred and five, or of any act in addition thereto or in amendment thereof, apply, and which receives money for transmission to foreign countries, to forward the same, or its equivalent, within five days after it is received; and in case any proceeding is brought against any such person, partnership, association or corporation for violation of the provisions of this section, the burden of proof that the money or its equivalent was forwarded within the said five days shall be upon the licensee.

SECTION 2. Violation of the provisions of this act shall be punished by a fine of not less than one hundred dollars nor more than one thousand dollars.

AN ACT TO ESTABLISH A STATE BOARD OF IMMIGRATION.

Be it enacted, etc., as follows:

SECTION 1. The governor, with the consent of the council, shall, within thirty days after the passage of this act, appoint a state board of immigration consisting of five persons who shall serve without compensation. It shall be the duty of this board to carry into effect, so far as it shall deem practicable and expedient, the recommendations of the commission on immigration appointed in pursuance of chapter seventy-seven, acts of the year nineteen hundred and thirteen, pertaining to the establishment of this board, and such other measures as it may deem expedient within the intent of this act. It shall have the power to co-operate with other state commissions, boards and bureaus, and all public and private agencies, federal, state or municipal, for the furtherance of the objects for which it is created. It shall have authority to require the attendance of persons and the production of papers respecting all matters pertaining to the purposes of this act.

SECTION 2. The said board shall have power to appoint an executive secretary and such assistants, clerical or other, as may be required for the proper performance of its duties. The compensation of the said executive secretary shall be fixed by the board, subject to the approval of the governor and council, and the board may expend annually for the compensation of its assistants, including the executive secretary, for the conduct of its branch offices, and for its necessary traveling and other expenses, a sum not exceeding twenty thousand dollars.

PART III.

APPENDIX A.

DESCRIPTION OF THE INVESTIGATIONS OF THE COMMISSION.

Frequent reference has been made in the report to the investigations of the commission, and it has seemed worth while to include in the form of an appendix a more exact statement regarding the methods used. It has also seemed worth while to include in this appendix certain tables which were prepared from the schedules, but which were not used in the report. The schedules used in each of these investigations will be found in Appendix B.

The commission made three general investigations. These were: (1) A study of the foreign-born population in 12 cities and towns in different parts of the State. Personal history schedules were used and 1,224 of these schedules were secured. (2) An inquiry into the provision made by the public schools for the education of the immigrant, with special reference to evening schools. For the purpose of this inquiry, day-school and evening-school schedules were sent to all the school superintendents throughout the State, and replies were received from 343 out of the 353 cities and towns of the State. (3) An inquiry into the relation of the employer to the immigrant. For this purpose employers' schedules were sent to all manufacturers in 20 of the principal immigrant-employing industries of the State, and more than two-thirds of these were returned.

In addition to these main lines of inquiry special investigations were made of those agencies and offices that were reported to be exploiting the recently arrived immigrant. As these special investigations have been described in different chapters of the report, no further mention need be made of them here.

The commission employed as regular investigators Helen Campbell, now with the Industrial Relations Commission, Samuel M. Auerbach, now with the Bureau of Industries and Immigration of New York, and Michael J. Racioppi. Special

investigators used in important parts of the work were Bernard J. Sheridan, Bertha M. Lieb, Jane Stone and Helen R. Wright. Other special investigators, interpreters and clerical assistants were employed for short periods of time.

The commission was assisted in its work by the North American Civic League for Immigrants, by the Young Men's Christian Association and by the various social agencies in the cities where the investigators worked. Acknowledgment is also due to the Director of the United States Bureau of the Census, and to the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration for furnishing the commission with statistical data in advance of publication.

Investigation of the Social and Industrial History of Representative Immigrants.

The report of the commission is based in part upon an investigation made by means of personal interviews with 1,224 immigrants living in various parts of the State, of whom 1,059 were men and 165 women. Of these immigrants 750 were heads of households; the other 474 were either lodgers or members of non-family groups. In the 775 different households visited, 4,961 persons were living. In so far, therefore, as the information gathered deals with general housing conditions, it applies not to 1,224 but to nearly 5,000 persons.

In choosing the communities for this investigation, great care was taken to select cities and towns a study of which would represent so far as possible the varying conditions under which the immigrant lives and works in Massachusetts. The commission had in mind the necessity of choosing cities and towns which were located in different parts of the State, which were of different sizes and which had different industrial conditions. For these reasons it was decided to carry on the investigation in eleven cities and towns in addition to Boston. Four large cities were selected, — Fall River, Lynn, Springfield and Worcester, — all of which had in 1910 a population of more than 88,000. In the next group, that of cities having a population of over 20,000, were Chicopee, Malden and North Adams. In addition to these the investigation was carried into four small towns, with a population of less than 10,000, — Ipswich, Maynard, Northbridge and Ware. It will be noticed that in each group there is at least one city in the western part of the State. It will also be noticed that in so far as possible cities have been chosen where different

industrial conditions prevail: Lynn is typical of the shoe cities; Fall River of the cotton textile cities; while Springfield and Worcester are cities of many industries. Among the small towns several of the chief immigrant-employing industries are represented. In Ipswich most of the immigrants are employed in a hosiery mill; in Maynard in a woolen mill; in Northbridge in a cotton-machine factory, or in smaller cotton mills; in Ware in a cotton mill, or to some extent in smaller woolen mills.

The population of each of these cities and towns, together with the per cent of foreign-born or native-born of foreign or mixed parentage, according to the United States Census of 1910, is given below: —

TABLE I. — *Population of Selected Cities and Towns, together with Per Cent of Foreign-born or Native-born of Foreign or Mixed Parentage, 1910.*¹

	Total Population.	Per Cent Foreign-born or Native- born of Foreign or Mixed Parentage.
Boston,	670,585	74.2
Fall River,	119,295	86.3
Lynn,	89,336	61.9
Springfield,	83,926	58.1
Worcester,	145,986	70.7
Chicopee,	25,401	81.7
Malden,	44,404	65.9
North Adams,	22,019	66.5
Ipswich,	5,777	62.1
Maynard,	6,390	84.9
Northbridge,	8,807	78.6
Ware,	8,774*	77.8

In each of these cities, with the exception of Boston, the investigator made a general community survey before attempting the task of getting personal histories from the immigrants. The survey included a study of the religious and educational institutions; of the social agencies at work among the immigrants; of the mutual aid societies; of the courts and of the industries. A more detailed study was made of the foreign

¹ U. S. Thirteenth Census (1910), Vol. II, *Population*, pp. 880, 882, Table II.

neighborhoods, — their locality, the condition of their streets and the character of their housing. From all the persons interviewed in the making of this preliminary survey, the investigator attempted to learn the conditions in these foreign neighborhoods, so as to choose wisely the blocks or tenements that were to be canvassed. The short allowance of time, of course, made an extensive investigation of each city and town impossible. It is believed, however, that the districts chosen reveal conditions typical of those under which the newly arrived immigrant lives.

The commission here, as elsewhere, confined itself to a study of immigrants of non-English speaking nationalities, and in so far as possible to those who had been in this country less than ten years. Since the canvass, however, was made by blocks or by tenements, never by individuals, 350, or 28.6 per cent, of the total 1,224 individuals interviewed had been in this country ten years or over, in spite of the fact that districts were selected where the majority of immigrants were comparatively recent arrivals. Because of the fact that the investigation was confined chiefly to immigrants who had not been long in this country, fewer schedules were obtained from certain nationalities, notably the French-Canadians, than might have been expected from a study of the number living in Massachusetts and employed in the mills of the State.

In Boston it was decided, after consultation with various persons familiar with the neighborhoods, to cover so far as possible the territory canvassed in 1910 for the Boston 1915 Housing Report. In the West End the block bounded by Brighton, Milton, Poplar and Spring streets was chosen for a recanvass. Now, as in 1910, the population was found to be almost exclusively Jewish. Both the North End blocks covered by the Boston 1915 investigation were visited. One of these, bounded by Margaret Street, Prince Street, Snowhill Street and Cleveland Place, is almost entirely Italian; in the other, bounded by Salem, Stillman, Morton and Endicott streets, are Poles and Russian Jews, as well as Italians. In the South End it was not found practicable to follow the earlier study so completely. The Boston 1915 investigation covered the block bounded by Albany, Kneeland, Hudson and Harvard streets; only the Hudson Street side of the block was revisited. Schedules were also obtained from twenty-three Greeks living on or near Curve Street; and an additional investigation was made by one of the residents of South End House of the Russian Jews living on Laconia Street. In

South Boston schedules were obtained from the Poles and the Lithuanians living on Athens Street, in the blocks covered by the earlier investigation, and the canvass was extended to some typical tenements in the midst of the Polish and Lithuanian settlements in West Second and Kemp streets.

Outside of Boston, the plan was, in general, to obtain information from about 100 individuals in the larger cities and 50 in the smaller cities or towns. The head of the family was always interviewed, and, whenever possible, schedules were also obtained from both men and women lodgers. In addition, a number of non-family groups were visited, especially among the Armenians, Greeks and Turks. Among certain nationalities in some localities there was a reluctance to answer the questions. In no case did the investigator attempt to force an answer, as it was believed that facts so obtained would be of little value in an investigation of this kind.

In order to ascertain as accurately as possible not only the actual facts concerning the individual's life and work, but less definite information, such as his motive for coming to the United States and his reason for desiring a certain kind of work, the investigator always interviewed the man himself instead of taking a story second-hand from his wife or son. Except in cases where the immigrant spoke English with ease the conversation was carried on in his own language. Occasionally it was necessary to use an interpreter, but, foreign-speaking investigators were employed, so that, as a rule, the investigator himself was able to talk with the man.

The decision concerning the number of schedules to be obtained from each nationality was based on the census statistics showing the proportion of the principal non-English speaking nationalities in each community. Consideration, however, was given to the fact that the importance of a nationality may be out of proportion to its numbers; to the length of residence, as already pointed out; to particularly interesting housing or industrial conditions; and to rapidly increasing numbers. The nationality of the persons interviewed in each town and city is given in the following table: —

TABLE II. — *Nationality of 1,224 Immigrants for Whom Personal History Schedules were obtained, together with City or Town of Residence.*

	Boston.	Chicopee.	Fall River.	Ipswich.	Lynn.	Malden.	Maynard.	North Adams.	Northbridge.	Springfield.	Ware.	Worcester.	Total.
Armenian,	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	16	5	-	13	39
Canadian, French, . .	-	11	21	5	-	-	-	13	12	5	14	5	86
Dutch,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	7
Finnish,	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	-	-	-	-	6	30
German,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	7
Greek,	23	10	-	28	17	-	-	-	-	7	-	13	98
Italian,	83	-	9	-	27	14	4	24	-	30	-	20	211
Jewish,	115	-	6	-	25	31	4	17	-	36	-	20	254
Lithuanian,	53	-	-	-	17	-	3	1	-	-	4	15	93
Polish,	43	29	11	18	18	-	8	18	10	9	31	12	212
Portuguese,	-	-	42	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	48
Russian,	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	-	2	-	2	9
Ruthenian,	-	-	4	4	-	-	-	-	3	6	-	-	17
Scandinavian,	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	-	-	10	15
Syrian,	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	-	5	-	9	81
Turkish,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	16	17
Total,	372	50	93	61	104	50	50	99	50	105	49	141	1,224

Of the 1,224 immigrants for whom personal history schedules were obtained, the occupation before coming to this country is given for 1,116. Most of the others had not been engaged in any gainful occupation in their home country, the men, in most cases, because of youth, the women because they were married and keeping house. In the following table the occupation before coming to this country is given for the 1,116 immigrants for whom information is available. Attention is called to the fact that 528, or 47.3 per cent, were farmers or farm laborers before coming to this country, while only 32, or 2.9 per cent, were employed in factories. Later tables show that in the United States only 1.4 per cent of these immigrant men are engaged in agricultural pursuits, while 57.6 per cent are employed in manufacturing establishments.

TABLE III. — *Occupation before coming to this Country of 1,116 Immigrants.*

OCCUPATION.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Farmers and farm laborers,	463	65	528
Shoemakers and cobblers,	61	1	62
Merchants and salesmen,	58	4	62
Laborers,	53	—	53
Tailors,	42	1	43
Carpenters,	37	—	37
Factory workers,	30	2	32
Blacksmiths and machinists,	22	—	22
Domestic servants,	1	21	22
Clerks and bookkeepers,	15	—	15
Dressmakers,	—	12	12
Miscellaneous,	221	7	228
Total,	1,003	113	1,116

Of the 1,059 immigrant men for whom personal history schedules were obtained, 1,031 were employed at the time they were interviewed, and from them information as to their occupation and earnings was secured. These 1,031 immigrants were employed in so many different occupations that numbers in any one are too small to warrant conclusions as to the wages of immigrants, and so the following tables have not been discussed in the report. In the first table the general classification of occupations used by the United States Census is given. In the second table the 594 immigrants engaged in manufacturing are grouped by the industries in which they were employed. The weekly wage is the amount which the immigrant reports that he is receiving for a full week's work, and is thus in many instances an overstatement of his actual weekly income.

TABLE IV. — *Occupation and Weekly Wage of Immigrant Men for Whom Personal History Schedules were obtained.*

WEEKLY WAGE.	OCCUPATION.					Total.	Cumulative Per Cent.
	Agri- culture.	Profes- sional Service.	Domes- tic and Personal Service.	Trade and Trans- portation.	Manu- facturing and Me- chanical In- dustries.		
Less than \$6,	—	—	8	8	8	24	2.5
\$6 and less than \$8,	1	2	10	21	68	102	13.1
\$8 and less than \$10,	3	—	11	11	203	228	36.7
\$10 and less than \$12,	4	—	13	47	124	188	56.2
\$12 and less than \$15,	2	1	25	59	147	234	80.4
\$15 and less than \$20,	—	1	8	33	102	144	95.3
\$20 and over,	—	—	5	19	21	45	4.7
Total,	10	4	80	198	673	965	100.0
Wage not reported,	4	3	3	40	16	66	—
Grand total,	14	7	83	238	689	1,031	—

TABLE V. — *Industries and Weekly Wage of 594 Immigrant Men employed in Manufacturing for Whom Personal History Schedules were obtained.*

WEEKLY WAGE.	INDUSTRIES.										Cumulative Per Cent.
	Automobiles and Motoreycles.	Boots and Shoes.	Clothing and Furnish- ings.	Cotton.	Foundry and Machine- shop Products.	Hosiery.	Rubber.	Woolen.	Others and Unspeci- fied.	Total.	
Less than \$6,	-	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	2	8	1.4
\$6 and less than \$8,	-	7	1	36	6	5	-	5	8	68	13.0
\$8 and less than \$10,	2	12	4	54	43	12	5	23	43	198	46.8
\$10 and less than \$12,	2	7	9	23	28	7	6	10	22	114	66.2
\$12 and less than \$15,	2	11	12	9	36	1	3	1	25	100	83.3
\$15 and less than \$20,	11	5	22	6	21	2	4	-	15	86	98.0
\$20 and over,	-	2	3	-	1	-	1	2	3	12	2.0
Total,	17	46	53	129	136	27	19	41	118	586	100.0
Wage not reported,	-	-	2	-	5	-	1	-	-	8	-
Grand total,	17	46	55	129	141	27	20	41	118	594	-

Of the 165 immigrant women for whom personal histories were obtained, 20 were not employed at the time the investigation was made, and 5 others did not report on their occupation and wages. Of the 140 from whom information on these points was obtained, 110 were working in factories. Facts concerning wages and occupations were also available in 60 cases from wage-earning wives of men whose histories were taken; 56 of the 60 were engaged in factory work. The following table gives the weekly wage of the 166 women employed in manufacturing establishments: —

TABLE VI. — *Weekly Wage of 166 Women employed in Manufacturing.*

WEEKLY WAGE.	Number of Women.	Cumulative Per Cent.
Less than \$5,	14	8.4
\$5 and less than \$6,	25	23.5
\$6 and less than \$7,	26	39.2
\$7 and less than \$8,	37	61.5
\$8 and less than \$9,	29	79.0
\$9 and less than \$10,	13	86.8
\$10 and less than \$11,	16	96.4
\$11 and less than \$12,	3	98.2
\$12 and over,	3	1.8
Total,	166	100.0

The immigrants whose personal histories were obtained were living in 775 houses or apartments. The size of these apartments and the crowded condition of many of them are shown by the following table, which gives the number of rooms in the apartment, together with the number of persons in the household:—

TABLE VII. — *Number of Persons in Households occupying Apartments with Specified Number of Rooms.*

NUMBER OF PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD.	NUMBER OF APARTMENTS HAVING—								Total Apart- ments.
	1 room.	2 rooms.	3 rooms.	4 rooms.	5 rooms.	6 rooms.	7 rooms.	8 or more rooms.	
1,	4	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	7
2,	5	13	10	10	4	2	1	—	45
3,	1	16	25	17	16	2	3	—	80
4,	—	8	36	31	25	4	2	—	106
5,	—	4	23	35	28	11	4	1	106
6,	—	2	22	36	27	12	2	5	106
7,	—	—	16	22	29	9	3	3	82
8,	—	—	13	30	27	12	4	4	90
9,	—	1	3	21	13	9	2	1	50
10,	—	—	4	10	8	8	1	2	33
11,	—	—	—	2	5	8	—	1	16
12,	—	—	—	2	5	5	—	—	12
13,	—	1	—	—	5	2	—	3	11
14,	—	—	—	1	2	1	—	2	6
15 or more,	—	1	—	—	2	1	4	14	22
Total,	10	48	153	217	196	86	26	36	772 ¹

Of the 775 households studied, 25 were groups of non-family men and women. The following tables show for the other 750 households the number of each nationality who kept lodgers and the number of lodgers in each household:—

¹ No report was made as to the number of rooms in three apartments.

TABLE VIII. — *Number of Households keeping Lodgers by Nationality of Head of Household.*

NATIONALITY OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD.	Total Number of Households.	Number of Households keeping Lodgers.
Armenian,	16	7
Canadian, French,	80	27
Danish,	4	—
Dutch,	6	3
Finnish,	18	15
German,	5	1
Greek,	40	32
Italian,	143	87
Jewish,	199	60
Lithuanian,	32	25
Norwegian,	1	1
Polish,	91	79
Portuguese,	26	20
Russian,	4	4
Ruthenian,	3	3
Swedish,	6	1
Syrian,	76	13
Total,	750	378

TABLE IX. — *Number and Per Cent of Households keeping a Specified Number of Lodgers.*

HOUSEHOLDS.	Number.	Per Cent of Total Households.
Households keeping no lodgers,	372	49.6
Households keeping 1 lodger,	114	15.2
Households keeping 2 lodgers,	107	14.3
Households keeping 3 lodgers,	40	5.3
Households keeping 4 lodgers,	42	5.6
Households keeping 5 lodgers,	33	4.4
Households keeping 6 lodgers,	11	1.5
Households keeping 7 lodgers,	5	.7
Households keeping 8 lodgers,	8	1.0
Households keeping 9 lodgers,	5	.7
Households keeping 10 or more lodgers,	13	1.7
Total number of households,	750	100.0

The questions asked on the schedules were grouped in several main divisions: (1) miscellaneous information concerning age, birthplace, length of residence, etc.; (2) industrial history in Europe and in the United States; (3) education and naturalization; (4) living conditions; (5) economic conditions; (6) information concerning the family — wife and children; (7) exploitation on or since arrival in this country. The answers given to these questions were tabulated and the results used in the various sections of the report.

School Investigation.

As a basis of its investigation into the educational opportunities for the immigrant the commission sent schedules to every school superintendent in the State early in September. One of the schedules, sent to all superintendents, inquired concerning the nationality of the day-school pupils, and the adaptation of the work to the needs of the foreign-born. This schedule was filled out and returned for 343 cities and towns out of a total of 353. A second schedule, sent to the superintendents in cities and towns that had maintained an evening school during 1912-1913, asked for full information concerning the work of the evening schools. Replies were received from 68 of the 70 cities and towns maintaining evening schools. A third schedule, sent to the superintendents in those towns where no public evening school was held, dealt with the question of the need for an evening school. This third schedule was filled out for 273 towns out of the 283 where there was no evening school. The returns, therefore, are nearly complete for cities and towns of varying sizes in every part of the State.

The information from these schedules was supplemented by the answers to the educational questions from the personal history and factory schedules, by the testimony at the public hearings of the commission, by conferences with members of the State Board of Education, and with superintendents of schools from all parts of the State, and by a special investigation of those private schools in which only a part of the work is conducted in the English language. The information thus gained formed the basis for the study of the schools in relation to the immigrant found in the chapter VI. on "Education."

Investigation of the Relation of the Employer to the Immigrant.

In order to secure data with reference to the relation of the immigrant to the "industrial condition of the people of the Commonwealth," the commission sent a schedule of questions to

approximately 2,350 manufacturers in 20 of the principal immigrant-employing industries of the State. Replies were received from 1,617 employers. The answers of 400 of these were discarded, in 79 cases because the establishments had gone out of business, and in 321 cases because they did not give sufficient information to make them valuable for tabulation. Since in nearly every case these manufacturers employed little or no immigrant labor, the commission did not attempt to secure more complete replies, but used the material from the answers of the 1,217 employers who gave more definite information.

The following table gives the number of establishments in the industries to which schedules were sent and the number of usable replies received from each: —

TABLE X. — *Number of Establishments in Twenty Selected Industries, with Number of Schedules received from Each.*

INDUSTRY.	Number of Establishments in State, 1911. ¹	Number of Schedules received.
Boots and shoes,	464	210
Boot and shoe cut stock and findings, ²	369	52
Rubber boots and shoes,	8	5
Rubber goods (not elsewhere specified),	36	22
Cotton goods,	164	127
Cotton small wares,	24	12
Dyeing and finishing textiles,	50	36
Foundry and machine shops,	606	316
Iron and steel, steel works and rolling mills,	6	5
Structural iron works,	44	19
Hosiery and knit goods,	56	33
Jewelry,	156	91
Leather goods (not elsewhere specified),	41	14
Leather, tan, curried and finished,	119	67
Paper and wood pulp,	92	45
Paper goods (not elsewhere specified),	38	20
Suspenders, garters and elastic-woven goods,	33	16
Wooden goods (not elsewhere specified),	25	6
Wool scouring,	10	7
Woolen and worsted goods,	165	114
Total,	2,506	1,217

¹ Figures from *Massachusetts Statistics of Manufactures, 1911*, Bureau of Statistics.

² Schedules were sent to only about one-half the employers in the boot and shoe cut stock and findings industry.

The average number of employees in these 1,217 establishments and the number under twenty-one years of age are given in the following tables:¹ —

TABLE XI. — *Average Number of Male and Female Employees (All Ages) in 1,196 Establishments.*

INDUSTRY.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Boots and shoes,	33,571	17,864	51,435
Boot and shoe cut stock and findings, . .	1,530	724	2,254
Rubber boots and shoes,	4,674	2,764	7,438
Rubber goods (not elsewhere specified), . .	4,865	1,042	5,907
Cotton goods,	50,718	43,722	94,440
Cotton small wares,	239	305	544
Dyeing and finishing textiles,	6,103	1,592	7,695
Foundry and machine shops,	29,352	675	30,027
Iron and steel,	10,350	3,000	13,350
Structural iron works,	890	5	895
Hosiery and knit goods,	2,885	7,000	9,885
Jewelry,	3,826	1,782	5,608
Leather goods,	178	219	397
Leather, tan, curried and finished,	9,546	417	9,963
Paper and wood pulp,	8,757	3,773	12,530
Paper goods (not elsewhere specified), . .	1,770	1,607	3,377
Suspenders, garters and elastic-woven goods, .	858	1,479	2,337
Wooden goods (not elsewhere specified), . .	82	1	83
Wool scouring,	405	27	432
Woolen and worsted goods,	27,410	17,819	45,229
Total,	198,009	105,817	303,826

¹ Twenty-one establishments did not report the average number of employees, and 27 did not report the number of employees under twenty-one years of age.

TABLE XII. — *Average Number of Male and Female Employees Under Twenty-one Years of Age in 1,190 Establishments.*

INDUSTRY.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Boots and shoes,	4,435	3,869	8,304
Boot and shoe cut stock and findings, . .	301	181	482
Rubber boots and shoes,	456	619	1,075
Rubber goods (not elsewhere specified), . .	552	324	876
Cotton goods,	8,026	11,295 ¹	19,321
Cotton small wares,	46	121	167
Dyeing and finishing textiles,	882	722	1,604
Foundry and machine shops,	2,778	210	2,988
Iron and steel,	1,021	1,500	2,521
Structural iron works,	43	1	44
Hosiery and knit goods,	610	2,090	2,700
Jewelry,	583	603	1,186
Leather goods,	30	40	70
Leather, tan, curried and finished,	746	119	865
Paper and wood pulp,	595	852	1,447
Paper goods (not elsewhere specified), . .	307	601	908
Suspenders, garters and elastic-woven goods, .	84	312	396
Wooden goods (not elsewhere specified), . .	8	—	8
Wool scouring,	18	6	24
Woolen and worsted goods,	4,244	5,585	9,829
Total,	25,765	29,050	54,815

The manufacturers reported that of the 303,826 employees, 180,347 were of foreign birth.² The following table shows the number of native and of foreign-born employees in each industry: —

¹ Includes 240 employees of one factory which did not specify the sex of employees under twenty-one years of age.

² Seventy-nine establishments did not give statistics of nationality.

TABLE XIII. — *Number of Native-born and of Foreign-born Employees by Industries.*

INDUSTRY.	Native-born.	Foreign-born.	Nativity not reported.	Total.
Boots and shoes,	29,886	18,132	3,417	51,435
Boot and shoe cut stock and findings,	1,039	1,140	75	2,254
Rubber boots and shoes,	2,066	5,372	—	7,438
Rubber goods (not elsewhere specified),	2,157	3,750	—	5,907
Cotton goods,	22,955	69,559	1,926	94,440
Cotton small wares,	228	316	—	544
Dyeing and finishing textiles,	3,001	4,694	—	7,695
Foundry and machine shops,	13,060	14,783	2,184	30,027
Iron and steel,	4,561	8,789	—	13,350
Structural iron works,	329	566	—	895
Hosiery and knit goods,	5,063	4,732	90	9,885
Jewelry,	3,367	2,111	130	5,608
Leather goods,	285	112	—	397
Leather, tan, curried and finished,	2,861	7,058	44	9,963
Paper and wood pulp,	6,055	6,475	—	12,530
Paper goods (not elsewhere specified),	2,479	869	29	3,377
Suspenders, garters and elastic-woven goods,	1,563	774	—	2,337
Wooden goods (not elsewhere specified),	63	20	—	83
Wool scouring,	77	355	—	432
Woolen and worsted goods,	14,136	30,740	353	45,229
Total,	115,231	180,347	8,248	303,826

The nationality of the foreign-born employees was as follows:—

TABLE XIV. — *Nationality of Foreign-born Employees.*

NATIONALITY.	Number.	Per Cent.
Armenian,	3,368	1.9
Brava,	471	.3
British,	20,740	11.5
Canadian, French,	30,020	16.6
Canadian, Other,	5,994	3.3
Finnish,	1,574	.9
Greek,	6,466	3.6
Irish,	22,716	12.5
Italian,	13,861	7.7
Jewish,	3,626	2.0
Lithuanian,	4,336	2.4
Polish,	24,734	13.7
Portuguese,	12,397	6.9
Russian,	3,433	1.9
Scandinavian,	3,224	1.8
Syrian,	2,163	1.2
Others,	21,224	11.8
Total,	180,347	100.0

The following tables give the nationality of the employees in three selected industries:—

TABLE XV. — *Nationality of 19,272 Foreign-born Employees in the Boot and Shoe Industry, including Cut Stock and Findings.*

NATIONALITY.	Number.	Per Cent.
Armenian,	806	4.2
British,	652	3.4
Canadian, French,	3,678	19.1
Canadian, Other,	657	3.4
Finnish,	65	.3
Greek,	1,509	7.8
Irish,	2,716	14.1
Italian,	2,391	12.5
Jewish,	1,556	8.1
Lithuanian,	656	3.4
Polish,	1,089	5.6
Portuguese,	281	1.5
Russian,	394	2.0
Scandinavian,	784	4.1
Syrian,	182	.9
Others,	1,856	9.6
Total,	19,272	100.0

TABLE XVI. — *Nationality of 69,875 Foreign-born Employees in the Cotton-Goods Industry, including Cotton Small Wares.*

NATIONALITY.	Number.	Per Cent.
Armenian,	493	.7
Brava,	379	.5
British,	10,097	14.5
Canadian, French,	15,116	21.7
Canadian, Other,	1,675	2.4
Finnish,	556	.8
Greek,	2,293	3.3
Irish,	6,479	9.3
Italian,	1,811	2.6
Jewish,	449	.6
Lithuanian,	762	1.1
Polish,	13,445	19.2
Portuguese,	10,100	14.5
Russian,	802	1.1
Syrian,	1,005	1.4
Others,	4,413	6.3
Total,	69,875	100.0

TABLE XVII. — *Nationality of 30,740 Foreign-born Employees in the Woolen and Worsted Goods Industry.*

NATIONALITY.	Number.	Per Cent.
Armenian,	466	1.5
British,	4,248	13.8
Canadian, French,	4,467	14.5
Canadian, Other,	325	1.0
Finnish,	511	1.7
Greek,	339	1.1
Irish,	2,870	9.3
Italian,	5,002	16.3
Jewish,	280	.9
Lithuanian,	730	2.4
Polish,	3,754	12.2
Portuguese,	251	.8
Russian,	554	1.8
Syrian,	756	2.5
Others,	6,187	20.2
Total,	30,740	100.0

The following table shows that 503 establishments, or 45 per cent of those reporting on the question,¹ have positions that can be filled by unskilled non-English speaking foreigners:

TABLE XVIII. — *Number of Establishments reporting Positions that can be filled by Unskilled Non-English Speaking Foreigners.*

INDUSTRY.	Having Positions.	Not having Positions.	Total.
Boots and shoes,	55	136	191
Boot and shoe cut stock and findings, . .	19	28	47
Rubber boots and shoes,	2	2	4
Rubber goods (not elsewhere specified), . .	7	15	22
Cotton goods,	89	23	112
Cotton small wares,	3	9	12
Dyeing and finishing textiles,	23	9	32
Foundry and machine shops,	97	201	298
Iron and steel,	4	1	5
Structural iron works,	4	13	17
Hosiery and knit works,	9	23	32
Jewelry,	19	64	83
Leather goods,	3	10	13
Leather, tan, curried and finished,	47	12	59
Paper and wood pulp,	33	11	44
Paper goods (not elsewhere specified), . .	6	14	20
Suspenders, garters and elastic-woven goods, .	2	13	15
Wooden goods (not elsewhere specified), . .	1	5	6
Wool scouring,	5	1	6
Woolen and worsted goods,	75	23	98
Total,	503	613	1,116

The schedules sent out by the commission asked not only for general information concerning the number and nationality of the employees, but for the opinion of the manufacturers on various questions concerning the employment of the Southern and Eastern Europeans, and their efficiency. Several questions were also asked concerning the immigrant's need of English and possible methods of increasing his efficiency through education. The answers to these questions have been discussed in the text in the chapters on "Education" and "The Immigrant in Industry."

¹ One hundred and one establishments did not report on this question.

APPENDIX B.

SCHEDULES USED IN THE INVESTIGATIONS OF THE COMMISSION.

Personal History Schedule.

MASSACHUSETTS COMMISSION ON IMMIGRATION 1913

Investigator.....
Date.....

SCHEDULE NO. I.

(Married man, single man or woman.)

No.....

CITY OR TOWN.....

1. Name.....Address.....
 Birthplace.....Race.....Age.....Religion.....
 Passage.....
 Paid by self friends or relatives in U. S. borrowed rate
 Residence in United States.....
 Total no. years date first arrival no. visits home
 Reason for coming.....
 Expect to remain? (Reason).....

2. Industrial history: Occupation in Europe.....
 Work expected or hoped for in United States.....
 Reason.....
 Unemployed after arrival: Days.....Months.....
 Reason.....

In securing following industrial history begin with *present job* (a) and work backwards.

	NAME OF FIRM.	Industry.	Exact Occupation.	How secured.	Wages per Week.	PAYMENT.	
						Piece.	Time.
(a)							
(b)							
(c)							
(d)							
(e)							
(f)							
(g)							

Cleanliness:.....

clean

fairly clean

dirty

filthy

Furnishings:.....

good

fair

bad

Water supply:.....

sinks

none

number

used by families

persons

Toilets:.....

in apartment

hall

yard

number

used by families

persons

.....

house owned by company

.....

5. Economic conditions and character:.....

money in bank

in U. S.

Europe

money sent home

.....

property owned

Europe

U. S. value

insurance amt.

indebtedness

Relief:.....

ever received public

private

when

.....

How are Sundays and evenings spent?.....

.....

Arrested:.....

date

charge

outcome

.....

If girl, has she ever had illegitimate child? (Learn story.).....

.....

.....

.....

6. Family. (Fill out for married man.).....

Wife:.....

age

place of birth

race

length of time in U. S.

Occupation:.....

before marriage in Europe

in United States

.....

present kind

employer

hours from

to

wages per wk.

home work

Education in Europe:.....

illiterate

read only

read and write

In United States:.....

attended school

time

speak English now

read and write English

Children:.....

SEX.	Age.	Occupation.	Wages.	Hours.	SCHOOL.			Time in U. S.	Juvenile Court Record.
					Pub- lic.	Paro- chial.	Grade.		
1st									
2d									
3d									
4th									

.....

.....

.....

7. Exploitation. (Give as detailed statement as possible. Secure names and dates or names of persons who can help with information.)
- (a) On arrival:
overcharge misdelivery
- (b) Banks:
money lost through failure money sent abroad and never received
.
name and address of bank date
- (c) Employment agent:
fee excessive work not as promised
.
redress attempted secured name and address of agency date
- (d) Steamship; Notaries; Lawyers; Land Agents; Runners; Doctors.
.
.

School Schedules.

MASSACHUSETTS COMMISSION ON IMMIGRATION 1913.

SCHOOL SCHEDULE I.

DAY SCHOOLS.

CITY OR TOWN.....

SCHOOL YEAR 1912-1913.

1. Total number of different children by nationality or country of birth enrolled during the school year 1912-1913. (If you cannot furnish without a great deal of trouble, please indicate whether it is because a record of nationalities of day pupils is not kept, or if kept, has not been tabulated. If both classifications are kept, please give both.)

NATIONALITY.

COUNTRY OF BIRTH.

American.
Armenian.
Brava.
British.
Canadian, French.
Canadian, Other.
Finnish.
French.
German.
Greek.
Irish.
Italian, North.
Italian, South.
Jews (Roumanian, Russian, Polish).
Lettish.
Lithuanian.
Polish.
Portuguese.
Scandinavian.
Syrian.
Russian.
All others.

United States.
Atlantic Islands.
Austria.
Canada, French.
Canada, Other.
Finland.
France.
Germany.
Greece.
Great Britain.
Hungary.
Ireland.
Italy, North.
Italy, South.
Norway, Sweden^w and Denmark.
Portugal.
Russia.
Turkey.
All others.

Total.....Total.....

2. For individual schools in which the enrollment is 50% or more foreign born
give the enrollment by nationality or country of birth of each school. (Please
use the same order and classification as in 1.)
School.....
1. Total enrollment.....
2. Enrollment by nationality or country of birth.....

3. Is there an adult room or rooms?.....If so, give number.....
subjects taught.....
.....
and enrollment by nationality or country of birth:.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

4. Are there any special classes for immigrant children who are prepared for
advance grades but do not know English?.....Number.....
Describe:.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

5. Is there any special adaptation of course or method in schools or rooms where
the per cent of foreign born is over 50%?.....Describe in full:.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

6. Describe any special work you are doing for the immigrant children, particularly
those of non-English speaking parentage:.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
Any special work with their parents:.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

7. Remarks:.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Signed.....
Superintendent.
.....
Post office address.

MASSACHUSETTS COMMISSION ON IMMIGRATION 1913.

SCHOOL SCHEDULE II.

NIGHT SCHOOLS.

CITY OR TOWN..... SCHOOL YEAR 1912-1913.

1. Schools in which evening classes were held during the school year 1912-1913:

NAME OF SCHOOL.
NUMBER OF CLASSES.
SUBJECTS TAUGHT WITH NUMBER ENROLLED IN EACH.

2. Total number of different people enrolled by nationality or country of birth
(If both classifications are kept, please give both.)

NATIONALITY.	MALE.	FEMALE.	COUNTRY OF BIRTH.	MALE.	FEMALE.
American.			United States.		
Armenian.			Atlantic Islands.		
Brava.			Austria.		
British.			Canada, French.		
Canadian, French.			Canada, Other.		
Canadian, Other.			Finland.		
Finnish.			France.		
French.			Germany.		
German.			Greece.		
Greek.			Great Britain.		
Irish.			Hungary.		
Italian, North.			Ireland.		
Italian, South.			Italy, North.		
Jews (Roumanian, Russian, Polish).			Italy, South.		
Lettish.			Norway, Sweden and Denmark.		
Lithuanian.			Portugal.		
Polish.			Russia.		
Portuguese.			Turkey.		
Scandinavian.			All Others.		
Syrian.					
Russian.					
All others.					

Total.....Total.....

3. Average attendance: MALE. FEMALE.

4. Illiterates: Number under 21 years of age attending night school:.....
NATIONALITY. MALE. FEMALE. COUNTRY OF BIRTH. MALE. FEMALE.

Total.....Total.....
What difficulty have you in enforcing the law in regard to this group?.....
.....
.....
Have employers co-operated?.....
Has any employer in your city ever been fined for employing an illiterate person,
who was not in attendance at night school?
If so, give date.....Name of employer.....
Remarks:.....
.....
.....
.....

5. Teachers: Total number of teachers.....Men.....Women.....
What salary is paid night school teachers?.....
How many are graduates of normal schools?.....of colleges?.....
How many teach in the day time?.....Attend college?.....
Is it the policy to secure teachers who are themselves foreign born?.....
Are they successful in increasing enrollment?.....
As teachers?.....
.....
Is the teaching in the night schools equal or inferior to that in the day schools?
.....
6. What text books are used in elementary classes in English and Civics? (Give
name of book, author, and publisher.)
.....
.....
.....
Which of these are satisfactory? Unsatisfactory? (Answer in full.).....
.....
.....
.....
.....
7. When does the night school term begin?.....End?.....
Number of evenings a week.....
Average number of evenings taught.....
8. Has a summer school ever been tried and with what success?.....
.....
.....
Have Sunday classes or lectures ever been tried and with what success?.....
.....
Are seats used intended for adults or children?.....
Are adult pupils addressed by first name?.....Reason:.....
.....
9. Is there any rule as to how many must be enrolled to open or continue a school
for night work? (Give number.)
Is there a required enrollment for beginning or continuing a class? (Give num-
ber.)
.....
10. How are night schools advertised? (Enclose copies of any printed announce-
ments.).....
.....
Have employers been asked to co-operate?.....With what success?
.....
.....
Have the churches been asked to co-operate?.....With what success?
.....
.....

11. Is there any nationality or neighborhood in your community that you feel you have not reached? (Give nationalities and neighborhoods and your explanation of the fact.).....
.....
.....
12. Naturalization: What classes preparing for naturalization are offered?.....
.....
Is advising students as to how and when they can become naturalized a part of the night school program?.....
.....
13. What lectures intended for the foreign born were delivered in your schools last year?.....
Number.....Subjects.....
.....
How many in the English language?...How many in foreign language?.....
What languages?.....
.....
14. Have the employers of immigrant laborers in your community used their influence to increase the number and efficiency of the night schools?.....
.....
Or have they opposed the development of the night school work?.....
.....Openly?.....Indirectly?.....
What explanation can you offer?.....
.....
15. Is there any social life in connection with the night schools? Describe:.....
.....
.....
16. Describe any other work you are doing for the adult immigrant or the immigrant child who has gone to work:.....
.....
.....
17. Describe any changes in organization, classes, teachers, textbooks, or general policy you are considering for the night schools in your city:.....
.....
.....
18. Have you any suggestions as to an educational program for the adult immigrant or the immigrant child who goes to work upon arrival?.....
.....
.....

Signed.....
.....Superintendent.
.....
.....Post office address.

MASSACHUSETTS COMMISSION ON IMMIGRATION 1913.

SCHOOL SCHEDULE III.

CITY OR TOWN..... SCHOOL YEAR 1912-1913.

1. Has there ever been a public night school in the town?.....
When?.....
Why was it discontinued?.....
.....
2. Do you feel that one is needed?.....
.....
3. Has the proposition ever been before your board?.....
Did any special group in the community, such as employers of immigrants,
churches, leaders of the immigrant groups, or women's clubs, etc., suggest
or actively support it?.....
.....
Did any special group or persons in the community oppose it?.....
.....
Reason?.....
Why do you think the proposition failed to pass?.....
.....
4. Do you know of any private night schools in the town?.....
By whom conducted?.....
.....

Signed.....

.....
Superintendent.

Post office address.

APPENDIX C.

IMMIGRATION TO MASSACHUSETTS.

TABLE I. — *Number of Immigrants admitted, destined to Massachusetts, Fiscal Years 1899 to 1913, by Races or Peoples.*¹

RACES OR PEOPLES.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.	Total.
African (black),	1	—	—	—	792	429	433	407	627	996	739	937	1,341	1,290	1,173	9,165
Armenian,	181	427	788	355	504	559	659	523	685	1,040	1,099	1,603	758	1,375	2,367	12,923
Bohemian and Moravian,	15	42	49	57	58	53	64	61	101	46	44	22	45	45	61	763
Bulgarian, Servian and Montenegrin,	1	13	74	18	56	81	35	109	222	96	70	63	90	98	42	1,068
Chinese,	435	304	449	407	567	119	12	90	55	24	17	23	152	114	45	2,813
Croatian and Slovenian,	36	36	46	44	64	21	22	39	47	19	44	25	35	37	57	572
Cuban,	—	1	—	—	—	26	24	6	2	16	9	9	27	30	30	180
Dalmatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian,	1	4	2	—	5	4	6	3	9	18	6	29	46	17	19	169
Dutch and Flemish,	96	73	142	104	292	398	509	436	538	485	323	401	379	442	653	5,271
East Indian,	—	1	—	2	—	8	3	6	5	6	6	4	14	16	9	80
English,	2,928	2,483	3,135	3,186	5,362	5,935	6,210	5,129	5,586	5,275	4,379	7,405	7,149	5,552	6,541	76,255
Finnish,	1,101	1,966	1,482	2,543	3,264	1,499	3,198	2,219	2,275	1,052	1,910	2,549	1,473	1,209	2,239	30,074
French,	153	130	264	250	419	489	559	615	563	1,431	4,383	5,171	3,217	3,160	3,318	24,122
German,	523	465	620	684	1,033	1,115	1,018	1,285	1,156	954	776	1,091	849	885	938	13,392
Greek,	427	865	943	1,173	2,538	2,119	2,108	3,879	7,233	4,116	3,202	5,787	5,223	4,551	5,919	50,153
Hebrew,	2,650	3,821	3,606	3,570	4,130	6,229	9,097	9,052	9,027	6,481	3,667	4,693	5,361	5,097	6,109	82,590
Irish,	8,515	8,749	7,547	7,074	7,350	7,612	11,739	7,530	6,896	6,335	5,639	6,579	6,899	5,866	6,007	110,937
Italian, North,	793	1,163	1,163	1,510	2,233	2,151	2,011	2,714	2,641	1,554	1,651	2,478	1,753	1,529	2,739	28,083
Italian, South,	3,222	4,567	7,376	11,806	13,731	10,900	11,747	15,375	16,710	8,155	13,049	16,182	13,318	12,611	21,030	179,779

	13	9	10	16	20	34	18	39	56	45	8	15	18	13	24	338
Japanese,																
. Korean,								3				1		1		5
Lithuanian,	944	1,331	939	1,763	1,591	1,604	2,404	2,050	3,906	2,113	2,612	3,453	2,585	2,472	3,937	33,784
Magyar,	45	117	87	87	148	98	121	75	104	87	60	56	35	36	81	1,237
Mexican,					3	4	1	3	1	15	7	•1	10	14	24	83
Pacific Islander,				1												2
Polish,	3,249	4,748	4,353	5,916	6,444	5,823	8,388	7,788	11,606	6,062	8,151	9,551	6,152	7,988	13,627	109,846
Portuguese,	1,405	3,244	2,968	3,109	5,691	3,920	2,909	6,042	5,674	3,379	2,897	4,228	3,862	4,967	9,002	63,297
Roumanian,	1	5	2	4	26	17	19	36	42	29	13	29	25	35	32	315
Russian,	56	32	23	77	265	352	222	339	1,217	1,478	959	1,274	1,673	2,673	5,266	15,906
Ruthenian (Russniak),	31	125	230	176	220	156	232	353	564	342	516	660	532	627	965	5,749
Scandinavian,	2,501	3,194	3,774	5,191	6,599	3,978	4,335	3,723	3,189	1,803	1,917	3,223	2,754	1,953	2,374	50,508
Scotch,	536	526	655	688	995	1,420	2,133	1,998	2,503	1,913	1,770	3,108	3,073	3,030	3,090	27,488
Slovak,	192	289	267	272	232	198	321	202	197	88	123	124	116	205	132	2,958
Spanish,	17	34	33	35	50	71	65	75	96	68	76	50	133	98	203	1,104
Spanish-American,					7	13	11	13	27	16	12	27	23	18	26	198
Syrian,	526	607	618	715	781	474	694	941	920	936	441	999	857	838	1,692	12,039
Turkish,	8	49	69	49	176	231	511	330	570	559	233	288	162	500	658	4,393
Welsh,	34	43	51	30	48	39	95	71	78	85	70	63	55	103	89	954
West Indian (except Cuban),	24	10	21	20	59	159	82	76	55	46	38	48	40	53	67	798
Other peoples,	4		1	2	3	68	26	228	340	140	281	417	537	613	469	3,149
Not specified,		1	2													3
Total,	30,754	39,474	41,789	50,939	65,757	58,411	72,151	73,863	85,583	57,303	61,197	82,666	70,811	70,171	101,674	962,543

¹ Compiled from Reports of the U. S. Immigration Commission, Vol. 3, p. 316, and Annual Report of the U. S. Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1911-1913.

TABLE II. — *Number of Emigrants departed whose State of Last Permanent Residence was Massachusetts, Fiscal Years 1908 to 1913, by Races or Peoples.*¹

RACES OR PEOPLES.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.	Total.
African (black),	240	262	241	205	236	372	1,556
Armenian,	39	149	160	278	164	146	936
Bohemian and Moravian,	3	5	2	1	8	6	25
Bulgarian, Servian and Montene- grin,	43	27	52	70	48	65	305
Chinese,	18	67	43	79	133	79	419
Croatian and Slovenian,	145	114	101	107	27	32	526
Cuban,	3	11	6	12	17	8	57
Dalmatian, Bosnian and Herze- govinian,	3	12	4	6	1	3	29
Dutch and Flemish,	55	53	36	82	72	61	359
East Indian,	1	1	3	1	2	6	14
English,	507	605	382	560	790	678	3,522
Finnish,	422	104	107	167	300	380	1,480
French,	107	118	175	187	219	221	1,027
German,	179	161	212	185	174	150	1,061
Greek,	899	785	1,374	1,199	1,267	3,296	8,820
Hebrew,	221	179	165	151	142	128	986
Irish,	334	270	335	337	383	367	2,026
Italian, North,	560	718	606	707	808	596	3,995
Italian, South,	6,698	5,432	3,535	4,456	4,766	5,232	30,119
Japanese,	13	12	14	14	11	9	73
Lithuanian,	419	284	285	410	602	528	2,528
Magyar,	138	138	41	36	23	32	408
Mexican,	3	3	11	6	4	3	30
Polish,	2,659	1,585	1,590	2,181	2,502	1,931	12,448
Portuguese,	558	443	540	799	1,019	943	4,302
Roumanian,	21	5	7	25	10	11	79
Russian,	263	189	308	369	385	459	1,973
Ruthenian (Russniak),	18	15	13	49	48	26	169
Scandinavian,	340	171	160	285	421	223	1,600
Scotch,	178	144	141	250	229	240	1,182
Slovak,	148	64	93	115	44	41	505
Spanish,	17	21	22	16	40	41	157
Spanish-American,	5	6	6	14	15	9	55
Syrian,	232	211	172	156	114	137	1,022
Turkish,	125	95	162	294	286	485	1,447
Welsh,	11	11	2	12	3	5	44
West Indian (except Cuban),	12	16	26	23	45	46	168
Other peoples,	29	49	40	45	48	75	286
Total,	15,666	12,535	11,172	13,889	15,406	17,070	85,738

¹ Compiled from *Annual Report of the U. S. Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1903-1913.*

TABLE III. — *Number of Immigrants destined to Massachusetts, 1899 to 1912, by Occupations.*¹

OCCUPATION.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.	Total.
Total professional,	183	157	196	192	307	777	698	704	540	526	445	639	620	658	6,642
<i>Skilled.</i>															
Bakers,	108	150	133	114	186	281	311	312	251	213	138	280	260	234	2,971
Barbers and hairdressers,	97	101	139	167	241	255	219	299	308	165	175	226	237	285	2,915
Blacksmiths,	137	183	184	223	350	278	414	359	429	267	192	386	309	340	4,051
Butchers,	86	105	91	108	111	209	283	204	214	133	106	174	201	173	2,198
Carpenters and joiners,	305	410	355	431	760	757	972	1,078	1,204	725	710	1,246	1,020	908	10,931
Clerks and accountants,	266	189	232	225	372	615	885	683	683	670	585	879	1,009	933	8,226
Dressmakers,	—	—	—	—	—	334	426	408	521	371	319	590	714	430	4,163
Engineers (locomotive, marine and stationary).	—	—	—	13	—	132	243	135	103	119	70	167	145	106	1,233
Gardeners,	45	49	63	35	69	112	139	94	122	80	68	87	129	119	1,211
Iron and steel workers,	24	30	37	56	90	264	236	214	228	148	186	456	327	167	2,463
Locksmiths,	8	17	24	32	64	106	122	123	135	120	60	89	97	93	1,090
Machinists,	40	61	61	72	140	165	250	196	205	188	199	483	353	152	2,565
Mariners,	197	331	426	318	642	856	616	532	449	237	254	325	240	297	5,720
Masons,	98	184	172	328	437	392	470	555	575	235	273	443	434	421	5,017
Mechanics (not specified),	37	76	87	82	145	86	86	101	91	60	71	107	122	97	1,248
Miners,	42	59	67	95	133	170	214	199	285	148	162	234	268	170	2,246
Painters and glaziers,	97	100	96	99	179	246	385	276	311	221	204	280	278	255	3,027

¹ Compiled from Reports of the U. S. Immigration-Commission, Vol. 3, pp. 223-225, and Annual Report of the U. S. Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1911, 1912.

TABLE III. — *Number of Immigrants destined to Massachusetts, 1899 to 1912, by Occupations*¹ — Concluded.

OCCUPATION.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.	Total.
Seamstresses,	249	232	331	368	590	329	314	398	367	289	246	322	416	595	5,046
Shoemakers,	358	457	511	584	765	917	1,054	1,040	1,075	746	661	897	862	991	10,918
Stonecutters,	46	65	92	143	155	225	287	360	202	65	181	191	157	130	2,299
Tailors,	470	734	648	713	1,024	1,534	2,240	1,707	1,942	1,472	791	1,191	1,183	1,297	16,946
Textile workers (not specified),	-	-	-	-	-	155	90	248	445	425	357	699	608	424	3,461
Tinners,	11	22	39	31	41	77	101	80	70	54	37	47	51	49	710
Tobacco workers,	26	24	36	58	72	156	237	150	185	126	63	111	110	149	1,503
Weavers and spinners,	314	371	516	512	1,176	765	1,212	774	798	842	1,114	1,633	936	824	11,787
Other skilled,	418	455	491	421	796	1,217	1,428	1,327	1,074	791	692	1,178	1,206	1,180	12,674
Total skilled,	3,479	4,405	4,831	5,278	8,538	10,683	13,234	11,852	12,272	8,911	7,914	12,721	11,672	10,829	126,619
<i>Miscellaneous.</i>															
Farm laborers,	750	1,794	3,424	4,985	4,782	5,024	6,214	10,217	12,474	6,685	10,401	16,904	12,247	14,418	110,319
Farmers,	276	244	224	347	643	139	786	790	653	249	481	623	527	444	6,426
Laborers,	8,933	14,327	12,445	19,042	22,126	15,080	20,324	18,610	25,330	13,586	16,341	18,946	14,196	12,643	231,929
Merchants and dealers,	614	469	689	668	918	743	803	782	580	464	392	545	496	493	8,656
Servants,	6,822	7,500	7,752	8,555	11,292	11,071	13,834	11,957	11,848	9,570	9,176	11,026	10,580	11,694	142,677
Other miscellaneous,	567	473	613	680	1,335	481	456	825	1,067	781	754	742	863	995	10,632
Total miscellaneous,	18,062 ²	24,807	25,147	34,277	41,096	32,538	42,417	43,181	51,952	31,335	37,545	48,786	38,909	40,637	510,739 ²
No. occupation (including women and children),	9,030	10,105	11,615	11,192	15,816	14,413	15,802	18,126	20,819	16,531	15,293	20,520	19,610	17,997	216,869
Grand total,	30,754 ²	39,474	41,789	50,939	65,757	58,411	72,151	73,863	85,583	57,303	61,197	82,666	70,811	70,171	860,869 ²

¹ Compiled from *Reports of the U. S. Immigration Commission*, Vol. 3, pp. 223-225, and *Annual Report of the U. S. Commissioner-General of Immigration*, 1911, 1912.² Details 100 less than total.

TABLE IV. — *Number of Immigrant Aliens arrived at the Ports of Boston and Charlestown, Mass., 1856-1913.*¹

YEARS.	Immigrant Aliens.	YEARS.	Immigrant Aliens.
1856,	14,353	1885,	25,660
1857,	13,331	1886,	25,046
1858,	5,086	1887,	36,209
1859,	8,498	1888,	44,873
1860,	8,807	1889,	35,198
1861,	4,365	1890,	29,813
1862,	2,356	1891,	30,951
1863,	7,217	1892,	32,343
1864,	6,347	1893,	29,583
1865,	10,007	1894,	17,558
1866, ²	4,534	1895,	20,472
1867,	11,483	1896,	21,846
1868,	12,529	1897,	13,333
1869,	23,294	1898,	12,271
1870,	33,028	1899,	19,227
1871,	27,024	1900,	15,754
1872,	26,909	1901,	25,616
1873,	31,676	1902,	39,465
1874,	24,225	1903,	62,833
1875,	17,645	1904,	60,278
1876,	9,711	1905,	65,107
1877,	7,887	1906,	62,229
1878,	8,756	1907,	70,164
1879,	10,364	1908,	41,363
1880,	34,062	1909,	36,318
1881,	41,018	1910,	53,617
1882,	58,816	1911,	45,865
1883,	48,188	1912,	38,782
1884,	35,036	1913,	54,740

¹ Compiled from "Immigration into the United States from 1820 to 1903," U. S. Bureau of Statistics, *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance*, June 1903, p. 4363, and *Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration*, 1903-1913.

² The years in the table from 1856-1865, included, are those ending December 31; from 1866-1913, those ending June 30.

APPENDIX D.

NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS DESTINED TO MASSACHUSETTS FROM 1890 TO 1913.¹

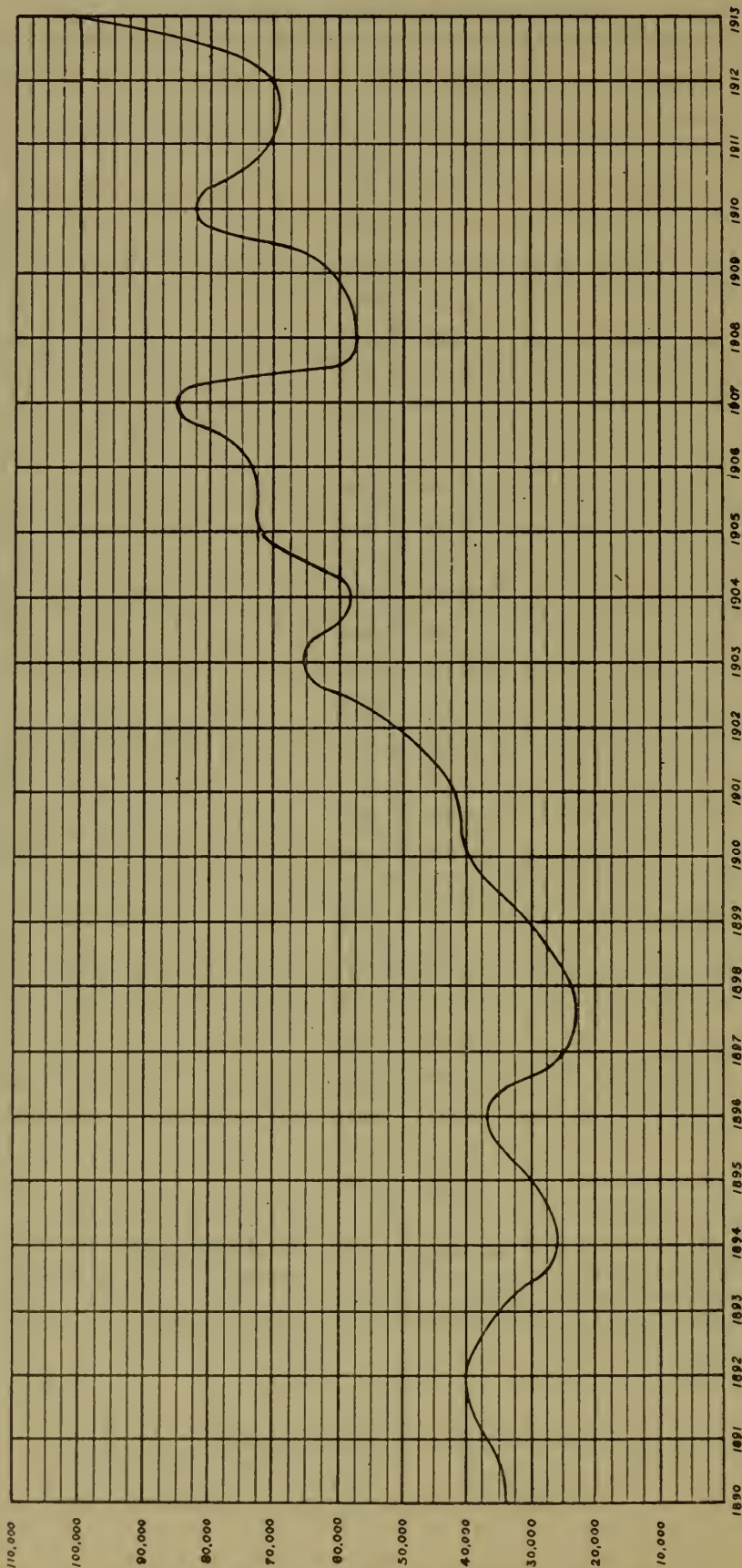


DIAGRAM 7.

¹ Based on *Annual Report of the U. S. Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1890-1913.*

APPENDIX E.

OCCUPATIONS OF FOREIGN-BORN PERSONS IN
MASSACHUSETTS.TABLE I. — *Total Number of Persons and Number and Per Cent of Foreign-born Persons engaged in Gainful Occupations in Massachusetts in Each Class of Occupation, 1870–1900.*¹

	Total Persons.	Foreign-born Persons.	Per Cent of Foreign-born.
Agriculture: —			
1870,	72,810	11,196	15.4
1880,	64,973	10,883	16.8
1890, ²	80,440	24,980	31.1
1900,	66,551	20,224	30.4
Professional and personal service: —			
1870,	131,291	68,899	52.5
1880,	170,160	77,000	45.3
1890,	220,737	118,372	53.6
1900,	291,606	144,048	49.4
Trade and transportation: —			
1870,	83,078	14,432	17.4
1880,	115,376	22,513	19.5
1890,	195,013	46,662	23.9
1900,	283,474	74,172	26.2
Manufacturing and mechanical industries: —			
1870,	292,665	95,625	32.7
1880,	370,265	132,010	35.7
1890,	474,065	193,616	40.8
1900,	566,776	254,161	44.8
All occupations: —			
1870,	579,844	190,152	32.8
1880,	720,774	242,406	33.6
1890,	970,255	383,630	39.5
1900,	1,208,407	492,605	40.8

¹ Compiled from *U. S. Ninth Census* (1870), Vol. I, *Population*, p. 739, Table XXX; *Tenth Census* (1880), *Population*, p. 828, Table 34; *Eleventh Census* (1890), *Population*, pp. 342–347, Table 80; pp. 472–483, Table 108; *Twelfth Census* (1900), *Special Report on Occupations*, pp. 156–165, Table 34.

² In 1890 fisheries and mining were classified with agriculture.

TABLE II. — *Percentage of Total Persons and of Foreign-born Persons engaged in Gainful Occupations in Massachusetts in Each Class of Occupation, 1870-1900.*

	Per Cent of Total Persons in Each Class of Occupation.	Per Cent of Foreign-born Persons in Each Class of Occupation.
Agriculture: —		
1870,	12.6	5.9
1880,	9.0	4.5
1890,	8.3	6.5
1900,	5.5	4.1
Professional and personal service: —		
1870,	22.6	36.2
1880,	23.6	31.8
1890,	22.7	30.8
1900,	24.1	29.2
Trade and transportation: —		
1870,	14.3	7.6
1880,	16.0	9.3
1890,	20.1	12.2
1900,	23.5	15.1
Manufacturing and mechanical industries: —		
1870,	50.5	50.3
1880,	51.4	54.4
1890,	48.9	50.5
1900,	46.9	51.6

TABLE III. — *Total Number of Persons and Number and Per Cent of Foreign-born Persons in Each Class of Occupation in Massachusetts, 1905.*¹

	Total Persons.	Foreign-born Persons.	Per Cent of Foreign-born.
Agricultural pursuits,	69,643	23,626	33.9
Professional service,	69,309	11,044	15.8
Domestic and personal service,	229,713	133,329	58.0
Trade and transportation,	332,625	90,001	27.1
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits,	622,481	289,600	46.5
Apprentices,	8,496	1,920	22.6
Not gainful,	1,671,413	368,524	22.0
All occupations,	3,003,680	918,044	30.6

¹ Compiled from *Massachusetts State Census, 1905*, Vol. II, p. 9 ff.

TABLE IV. — Total Persons engaged in Gainful Occupations in Massachusetts, distributed according to Parentage, 1900.¹

OCCUPATION.	Total Native Parentage.	Total Foreign Parentage.	PERSONS HAVING EITHER BOTH PARENTS BORN AS SPECIFIED OR ONE PARENT BORN AS SPECIFIED AND ONE PARENT NATIVE.													Persons of Mixed Foreign Parentage.
			Austria and Bo- hemia.	Canada, English.	Canada, French.	England, Scotland and Wales.	France.	Germany.	Hungary.	Ireland.	Italy.	Poland.	Russia.	Sweden.	Other Countries.	
Agriculture,	38,395	28,156	120	3,789	3,306	3,390	273	1,432	57	10,090	367	1,387	358	1,062	1,605	920
Professional service,	38,840	21,763	66	3,233	1,188	4,048	286	1,450	18	8,126	296	80	278	620	452	1,622
Domestic and personal service,	55,754	175,249	394	22,200	12,224	11,993	801	4,137	179	89,504	8,871	1,537	1,326	7,106	8,150	6,827
Trade and transportation,	130,974	152,500	497	24,081	11,896	18,201	540	6,697	132	63,992	3,236	1,689	5,594	2,920	3,482	9,543
Manufacturing and mechanical industries.	151,355	415,421	2,319	43,715	78,109	54,118	1,748	17,972	228	143,217	6,547	10,523	7,500	14,303	14,729	20,393
All Occupations,	415,318	793,089	3,396	97,018	106,723	91,750	3,648	31,688	614	314,929	19,317	15,216	15,056	26,011	28,418	39,305

¹ Compiled from the U. S. Twelfth Census (1900), *Special Report on Occupations*, pp. 192-213, Tables 38, 39.

APPENDIX F.

NATIONALITY AND OCCUPATION OF OPERATIVES IN A TYPICAL COTTON MILL IN MASSACHUSETTS.

TABLE I. — *Nationality and Occupation of Operatives in a Typical Cotton Mill in Massachusetts, January 1, 1914, with Number employed and Number leaving between January 1, 1913, and January 1, 1914.*

NATIONALITY.	DEPARTMENT.										Total.
	Card.	Spinning.	Dressing.	Beaming.	Weaving.	Finishing.	Folding and Pack- ing.	Dyeing.	Yard.	Repairs.	
American, . . .	18	171	37	32	67	10	70	3	10	25	443
Armenian, . . .	10	72	-	3	7	5	8	40	-	-	145
Canadian, . . .	3	29	7	4	31	2	5	-	1	12	94
Cuban, . . .	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
English, . . .	7	9	3	7	13	-	11	1	1	11	63
French, . . .	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
German, . . .	1	2	-	2	11	-	12	-	-	2	30
Greek, . . .	8	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	11
Hebrew, . . .	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	6
Irish, . . .	14	9	4	9	30	-	1	4	3	16	90
Italian, . . .	33	56	1	3	-	1	8	-	13	8	123
Lithuanian, . .	25	41	6	-	323	13	2	9	-	1	420
Magyar, . . .	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Polish, . . .	100	67	2	-	202	11	3	9	10	2	406
Portuguese, . .	24	41	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	65
Russian, . . .	4	16	-	-	6	-	2	-	-	-	28
Ruthenian, . .	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Scotch, . . .	2	3	7	7	22	1	3	3	-	1	49
Syrian, . . .	41	5	-	-	8	-	-	7	-	-	61
Turkish, . . .	1	3	1	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	8
Welsh, . . .	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total, . . .	292	530	68	67	721	43	134	78	38	78	2,049
Number employed be- tween January 1, 1913 and January 1, 1914.	406	544	18	56	685	96	151	73	37	148	2,214
Number leaving be- tween January 1, 1913 and January 1, 1914.	394	562	16	45	655	89	155	65	40	135	2,156

APPENDIX G.

RURAL POPULATION OF MASSACHUSETTS BY GENERAL
NATIVITY, 1890-1910.

	1890.	1900.	1910.
Number: —			
Total rural population,	235,093	238,248	241,049
Native white of native parentage,	161,953	152,148	141,191
Native white of foreign or mixed parentage,	36,561	44,916	54,120
Foreign-born white,	34,537	38,600	42,469
Per cent of total population: —			
Total rural population,	10.5	8.5	7.2
Native white of native parentage,	17.0	14.7	12.8
Native white of foreign parentage,	6.0	5.0	4.6
Foreign-born white,	5.3	4.6	4.0

Compiled from *U. S. Thirteenth Census* (1910), Vol. II, *Population*, p. 865, Table 1.

APPENDIX H.

**NATIVITY OF PERSONS COMMITTED TO THE STATE
TRAINING SCHOOLS IN MASSACHUSETTS.**

TABLE I. — *Nativity of Boys and Girls committed to the State Training Schools of Massachusetts during the Year ended November 30, 1912.*¹

	Lyman School.	Shirley.	Lan- caster.	Total.	Per Cent of Known Nativity.
Total native-born,	190	152	94	436	87.9
Total foreign-born,	24	24	12	60	12.1
Atlantic Islands,	—	1	—	—	—
Canada,	—	8	7	—	—
England,	—	3	1	—	—
Germany,	—	—	1	—	—
Greece,	—	1	—	—	—
Ireland,	—	—	1	—	—
Italy,	—	5	—	—	—
Russia,	—	6	2	—	—
Nativity unknown,	1	1	—	2	—
Total committed,	215	177	106	498	—

TABLE II. — *General Nativity of Parents of Boys and Girls committed to the State Training Schools of Massachusetts during the Year ended November 30, 1912.*¹

	Lyman School.	Shirley.	Lan- caster.	Total.	Per Cent of Known Parent- age.
Both parents native-born,	37	37	37	111	27.0
Both parents foreign-born,	94	87	35	216	52.4
One parent native and one foreign-born,	30	29	26	85	20.6
Birthplace of one or both parents unknown,	54	24	8	86	—
Total committed,	215	177	106	498	—

¹ Compiled from the *Annual Report of the Massachusetts Training Schools*, 1912, pp. 41, 65, 107.

APPENDIX I.

LITERACY OF PRISONERS COMMITTED TO PENAL INSTITUTIONS IN MASSACHUSETTS DURING THE YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1912.

TABLE I. — *Literacy of Prisoners committed to Penal Institutions in the State of Massachusetts during the Year ended November 30, 1912, together with the Percentage of Literacy of the Total Population of Massachusetts, Ten Years of Age or Over, 1910.*¹

	PRISONERS.		Total Population. Percentage of Literacy.
	Number.	Per Cent.	
Able to read and write,	24,207	88.2	94.8
Illiterate,	3,240	11.8	5.2
Total,	27,447 ²	100.0	100.0

¹ *Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Prison Commissioners*, 1912, p. 89, and *U. S. Thirteenth Census* (1910), Vol. I, Population, p. 1198, Table 19.

² In 7 cases the literacy of prisoners committed was not given.

APPENDIX J.

NATIVITY OF INSANE PERSONS IN INSTITUTIONS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

TABLE I. — *Number and Per Cent of Native and Foreign Born Insane Persons admitted to Institutions in Massachusetts for the Year ended November 30, 1912, together with Per Cent of Total Native and Foreign Born White Population Fifteen Years of Age and Over of Massachusetts, 1910.*¹

	INSANE.		
	Number.	Per Cent of Known Nativity.	Per Cent White Population Fifteen Years and Over.
Native-born,	1,464	55.6	59.1
Foreign-born,	1,169	44.4	40.9
Nativity unknown,	27	—	—
Total,	2,660	—	—

¹ Compiled from the *Annual Report of the Massachusetts State Board of Insanity*, 1912, p. 278, Table 16, and from the *U. S. Thirteenth Census* (1910), Vol. I, *Population*, p. 380, Table 43. The percentage for comparison is based on the population fifteen years of age and over, as a child under the age of fifteen rarely becomes insane. The white population is used instead of the total population, as the census does not give the total native and foreign born population by age groups.

TABLE II. — *Nativity of Foreign-born Insane Persons admitted to Institutions in Massachusetts for the Year ended November 30, 1912, together with the Percentage of Nativity of the Foreign-born Population of Massachusetts, 1910.*¹

COUNTRY OF BIRTH.	FOREIGN-BORN INSANE.		Foreign-born Population, 1910. Per Cent born in Each Country.
	Number.	Per Cent.	
Austria,	26	2.2	3.5
Canada,	272	23.3	28.1
England, Scotland and Wales,	118	10.1	11.6
Finland,	20	1.7	1.0
France,	5	.4	.6
Germany,	35	3.0	2.9
Greece,	14	1.2	1.1
Ireland,	371	31.7	21.0
Italy,	54	4.6	8.0
Norway, Sweden and Denmark,	54	4.6	4.6
Portugal,	6	.5	2.5
Russia,	109	9.3	11.1
Turkey,	21	1.8	1.5
Other countries,	64	5.6	2.5
Total,	1,169	100.0	100.0

¹ Compiled from the *Annual Report of the Massachusetts State Board of Insanity*, 1912, p. 278, Table 16, and *U. S. Thirteenth Census* (1910), Vol. II, *Population*, p. 865, Table 5.

APPENDIX K.

**NATIVITY OF INMATES OF CERTAIN STATE INSTITUTIONS
OTHER THAN PENAL AND INSANE.**

TABLE I. — *Nativity of Inmates of the State Infirmary at Tewksbury, 1912.*¹

	Number.	Per Cent of Known Nativity.
Total native-born,	1,775	38.6
Total foreign-born from English-speaking countries, . .	2,094	45.5
Canada,	503	—
England, Scotland and Wales,	317	—
Ireland,	1,274	—
Total foreign-born from non-English speaking countries, .	731	15.9
Atlantic Islands,	25	—
Austria,	46	—
Finland,	36	—
France,	18	—
Germany,	36	—
Greece,	64	—
Italy,	153	—
Poland (unspecified),	29	—
Portugal,	11	—
Russia,	144	—
Sweden, Norway and Denmark,	72	—
Turkey,	62	—
Other countries,	35	—
Birthplace unknown,	29	—
Total,	4,629	—

¹ Compiled from the *Annual Report of the State Infirmary at Tewksbury, 1912*, pp. 31, 32.

TABLE II. — *Nativity of Epileptics admitted for the First Time to Any Hospital to the Monson State Hospital during the Year ended November 30, 1912.*¹

	Number.	Per Cent Native and Foreign Born.
Total native-born,	135	77.1
Total foreign-born,	40	22.9
Canada,	15	—
England,	5	—
Ireland,	7	—
Italy,	5	—
Newfoundland,	2	—
Russia,	3	—
South America,	1	—
Sweden,	2	—
Total,	175	100.0

TABLE III. — *Nativity of Inebriates committed for the First Time to the Foxborough State Hospital, for the Year ended November 30, 1912.*²

	Number.	Per Cent Native and Foreign Born.
Total native-born,	472	84 0
Total foreign-born,	90	16 0
Canada,	26	—
England and Scotland,	18	—
Ireland,	40	—
Germany,	1	—
Portugal,	1	—
Sweden,	1	—
Russia,	3	—
Total,	562	100.0

¹ Compiled from the *Annual Report of the Monson State Hospital, 1912*, p. 41.

² From the *Annual Report of the Foxborough State Hospital, 1912*, p. 40.

TABLE IV. — *Nativity of Inmates of Massachusetts School for the Feeble-minded at Waverley, October 30, 1913.*¹

	Number.	Per Cent of Known Nativity.
Total native-born,	1,406	91.2
Total foreign-born,	136	8.8
Austria,	2	—
Canada,	51	—
England and Scotland,	21	—
Ireland,	10	—
Italy,	10	—
Norway and Sweden,	11	—
Russia,	25	—
All others,	6	—
Nativity unknown,	74	—
Total inmates, ²	1,616	—

¹ Information furnished by the superintendent of the Massachusetts School for the Feeble-minded at Waverley.

² The superintendent states that of the 74 whose birthplaces are not given, the majority are probably foreign-born.

TABLE V.—*Nativity of Parents of Inmates of the Wrentham State School
(for the Feeble-minded), November, 1913.*¹

	Number.	Per Cent.
Both parents native-born,	208	46.2
Both parents foreign-born,	197	43.8
One parent native-born and one foreign-born,	45	10.0
Total,	450 ²	100.0
Nationality of foreign-born parents: —		
Austrian,	1	-
Canadian, French,	25	-
Canadian, Other,	21	-
English and Scotch,	15	-
Finnish,	3	-
German,	9	-
Irish,	64	-
Italian,	15	-
Jewish,	24	-
Polish,	1	-
Portuguese,	1	-
Russian,	2	-
Scandinavian,	13	-
Swiss,	2	-
Turkish,	1	-
Total,	197	-

¹ Information furnished by the superintendent of the Wrentham State School.
² The records of the school gave information as to the nationality of the parents of only 300 out of the 450 children. For the other cases the superintendent has given the "probable nationalities." The table, therefore, may be somewhat inaccurate.

APPENDIX L.

**ABSTRACT OF MOST IMPORTANT PROVISIONS OF THE LAWS
REGULATING PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES IN
MASSACHUSETTS, ILLINOIS, NEW YORK AND PENNSYLVANIA.¹**

1. Regulation by statute: —

Massachusetts. — Revised Laws, ch. 102, secs. 23–28.

Illinois. — Revised Statutes, ch. 48, secs. 67*a* to 67*l*.

New York. — Laws of 1910, ch. 700, secs. 170–192.

Pennsylvania. — Laws of 1907, No. 90, secs. 1–16,
and Laws, of 1911, p. 881.

2. Licenses granted by: —

Massachusetts. — Licensing Board in Boston, Acts of 1906, ch. 291, sec. 4. Mayor and city council in most other cities, Mass. R. L., ch. 102, sec. 24.

Illinois. — By State Board of Labor Commissioners, Ill. R. S., ch. 48, 67*a*.

New York. — Commissioner of Licenses in New York City. Mayor in cities under 300,000, N. Y. Laws, 1910, ch. 700, secs. 173, 174.

Pennsylvania. — Director of Department of Public Safety in cities of first and second class, Penn. Laws, 1907, No. 90, sec. 1.

3. Enforcement of law in hands of: —

Massachusetts. — Police.

Illinois. — State Inspector of Employment Agencies acting under direction of State Board of Commissioners of Labor, Ill. R. S., ch. 48, 67*h*.

New York. — Commissioner of Licenses in New York City. In other cities of New York by the mayors, N. Y. Laws, 1910, ch. 700, sec. 191.

¹ For topical summary of laws of other States, see table opposite p. 130 in report of the Commission to investigate Employment Agencies.

Pennsylvania. — Employment Agency Division of Department of Public Safety, Penn. Laws of 1907, No. 90, sec. 12.

4. Inclusiveness of the law covers all kinds of agencies: —

Illinois. — Ill. R. S., ch. 48, 67*g*.

Certain agencies not covered: —

Massachusetts. — For example, professional agencies, teaching, theatrical and engineering.

New York. — Teacher's and other professional agencies excepted, N. Y. Laws, 1910, ch. 700, sec. 170.

Pennsylvania. — Teacher's and other professional agencies excepted, Penn. Laws of 1907, No. 90, sec. 2.

5. Bond requirements: —

Massachusetts. — None.

Illinois. — Five hundred dollars, Ill. R. S., ch. 48, 67*b*.

New York. — One thousand dollars, N. Y. Laws, 1910, ch. 700, sec. 177.

Pennsylvania. — One thousand dollars, Penn. Laws, 1907, No. 90, sec. 4.

6. Annual license fee: —

Massachusetts. — Law requires fee of not less than \$2, Mass. R. L., ch. 102, sec. 186. (Boston, \$25 for second class, \$50 for first class.)

Illinois. — Fifty dollars and \$25, Ill. R. S., ch. 48, 67*a*.

New York. — Twenty-five dollars, N. Y. Laws, 1910, ch. 700, sec. 177.

Pennsylvania. — Fifty dollars, Penn. Laws, 1907, No. 90, sec. 3, as amended by Laws of 1911, p. 883.

7. Regulation of fees: —

(1) Detailed regulation: —

Massachusetts. — Unregulated by State. Regulated in Boston by rules of Licensing Board. (See page 39 of this report.)

(2) State: —

New York. — For lumbermen, agricultural hands, unskilled workers, laborers and for domestic help not to exceed 10 per cent of the first month's wages unless period of employment

is one year at a yearly salary, in which case fee shall not exceed 5 per cent of the first year's salary, N. Y. Laws, 1910, ch. 700, sec. 185.

(3) Publicity the only regulation: —

Pennsylvania. — Fees agency intends to charge must be filed with the Director of Public Safety and posted in office where agency is conducted. No other charges legal. Penn. Laws, 1907, No. 90, sec. 8, and Laws of 1911, p. 885.

(4) No regulation: —

Illinois. — Registration fee cannot be over \$2, but additional fee can be agreed upon by agent and applicant for employment, Ill. R. S., ch. 48, 67*d*.

8. Receipts and contracts given employee: —

Massachusetts. — Not prescribed by law.

Illinois. — Ill. R. S., ch. 48, 67*d*.¹

New York. — N. Y. Laws, 1910, ch. 700, secs. 181, 182, 187.¹

Pennsylvania. — Penn. Laws, 1907, No. 90, secs. 8, 9.

(1) Name and address of agency, employer and employee.

(2) Contracts if sent out of town include: (a) character of work; (b) wages; (c) probable duration of employment; (d) amount of fee; and (e) terms of transportation; all in *language of the immigrant*.

(3) Receipts for those given work in town, *a*, *b*, *c* and *d*, as above.

9. Prohibitions: —

Illinois. — Ill. R. S., ch. 48, 67*f*.¹

New York. — N. Y. Laws, 1910, ch. 700, secs. 174, 189, 190.¹

Pennsylvania. — Penn. Laws, 1907, No. 90, sec. 10.

(1) Location: not in saloons, boarding houses, etc.

(2) Misleading advertisements: omission of name of agency.

(3) Violations of labor laws; sending women to saloons, houses of prostitution and other places of doubtful character.

¹ See paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 under Pennsylvania.

Massachusetts. — Only prohibition is against sending women to houses of prostitution, Mass. R. L., ch. 212, sec. 8.

10. Law, or part of law, relating to fees, refunds, etc., posted in language which usual patrons of the office can understand: —

Illinois. — Ill. R. S., ch. 48, 67*d*.

New York. — N. Y. Laws, 1910, ch. 700, sec. 188.

Pennsylvania. — Penn. Laws, 1907, No. 90, sec. 8.

APPENDIX M.

**REGULATION OF IMMIGRANT BANKS IN MASSACHUSETTS,
NEW JERSEY, NEW YORK, OHIO AND PENNSYLVANIA.**

In those States in which private banking is prohibited, immigrant banks that receive deposits for safe-keeping would be included. Those that do only a foreign exchange business would probably not be included, and special regulation of these is necessary to give proper protection.

In New Jersey private banking was regulated in 1895 (New Jersey Public Laws, 1895, p. 743), and special regulation of agents engaged in the transmission of money was provided for in the law in 1907 (1907, p. 261, as amended in 1909, 81; 1910 p. 486). This law was strengthened by provision for its enforcement in 1913 (1913, chs. 104, 105). Ohio began with the regulation of the foreign exchange agents in 1908 (Ohio Laws, 1908, p. 266) and did not regulate private banking until 1913. In New York (Laws of 1910, ch. 348, as amended in 1911, ch. 393), in Pennsylvania (Laws of 1911, p. 1060) and in Massachusetts (Acts and Resolves, 1905, ch. 428, as amended in 1906, ch. 408; 1907, ch. 377; 1908, ch. 493; 1909, chs. 287 and 450; 1910, ch. 338; 1911, ch. 358; 1912, ch. 335; and 1913, chs. 178, 179, 245), where private banking is unregulated, special control of immigrant banks has been attempted. In Illinois, the other great immigrant center, no protection of any sort is given.

**Comparative Abstract of the Provisions of the Laws referred to
Above.**

1. License: —

Massachusetts. — Twenty-five dollars for transmitting money; \$50 for transmitting and receiving deposits for safe-keeping.

New York. — Fifty dollars for transmitting money and receiving deposits.

New Jersey. — Certificate of authority; \$10 for transmission only. To receive deposits for safe-keeping, incorporation under the banking law.

Ohio. — Five dollars fee for filing bond.

Pennsylvania. — Fifty dollars.

2. Bonds: —

Massachusetts. — Amount fixed by the Commissioner of Banking.

New York. — For transmission of money; surety company bond in sum of \$5,000. For receiving deposits for safe-keeping; \$5,000 additional if deposits do not exceed \$25,000. Five thousand dollars for each additional \$25,000 not exceeding a maximum liability of \$50,000.

New Jersey. — Not less than \$20,000, with \$5,000 additional for each branch office.

Ohio. — Five thousand dollars.

Pennsylvania. — Amount fixed by the Board. Not more than \$50,000 nor less than \$10,000.

3. Deposits of money or securities in addition to bond: —

Massachusetts. — None.

New York. — Ten thousand dollars in money or securities.

New Jersey. — None.

Ohio. — None.

Pennsylvania. — None.

4. Supervision by banking official, provided for in: —

Massachusetts. — By Commissioner of Banks whenever inspection is deemed expedient.

New York. — By Comptroller whenever inspection is deemed expedient.

New Jersey. — By Commissioner of Banking and Insurance whenever inspection is deemed expedient.

Pennsylvania. — At least semiannual statements; books, etc., to be approved by Commissioner of Banking.

5. Transmissions: —

Must be made in five days after receipt for transmission in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania.

In case of action for failure to send money accepted for transmission abroad, burden of proof rests on licensee in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania.

6. Law includes in: —

Massachusetts. — Steamship ticket or employment agents who receive money for safe-keeping or for transmission abroad.

New York. — Individuals or partnerships in cities of the first class who receive money for safe-keeping or for transmission abroad, the average of whose deposits for these purposes is less than \$500.

New Jersey. — All persons or corporations who transmit money abroad or buy or sell foreign exchanges (private banking also regulated).

Ohio. — Steamship and railroad ticket agents selling transportation to or from foreign countries who receive deposits for transmission. (Private banking also regulated.)

Pennsylvania. — Applies to (1) all ticket agents; (2) private bankers who have not been continuously in business in the same locality for seven years prior to the passage of the act; and (3) private bankers who have been in business continuously in the same locality if they sell steamship tickets.

7. Law excepts in: —

Massachusetts. — Banks, trust companies, express companies having contracts with railroads or steamship companies for the operation of an express service upon the lines of such companies, and persons, partnerships, corporations or associations engaged in the banking or brokerage business.

New York. — State and national banks; hotel keepers receiving deposits from guests; express companies having contracts with railroad companies for the operation of an express service upon the lines of such companies; telegraph companies; any individual or partnership coming within the provisions of the law who files with the Comptroller a sum of \$100,000.

New Jersey. — Authorized private bankers, State or national banks, express or telegraph companies and their regularly authorized agents.

Ohio. — Drafts, money orders and travellers checks issued by trans-atlantic steamship companies or their duly authorized agents, national banks, express companies, State banks or trust companies.

Pennsylvania. — State and national banks; hotel keepers who receive money of guests for safe-keeping; express or telegraph companies, provided such company is not directly or indirectly engaged in sale of steamship tickets; licensed bankers.

8. Penalty for violating the law: —

Massachusetts. — Fine of not less than \$50 or more than \$1,000; imprisonment not less than three days or more than one year, or both.

New York. — Misdemeanor.

New Jersey. — Misdemeanor punishable by fine of not less than \$50 nor more than \$1,000, or imprisonment for not less than thirty days nor more than one year, or both.

Ohio. — Five hundred dollars fine or six months' imprisonment, or both.

Pennsylvania. — Misdemeanor punishable by fine not to exceed \$1,000 or imprisonment of not more than two years, or both.

9. Prosecution of offenders against this law: —

Massachusetts. — Police of city or town in which violation occurs.

New York. — None.

New Jersey. — Commissioner of Banking and County Prosecutor of Pleas.

Ohio. — None.

Pennsylvania. — None.

APPENDIX N.

**TRANSLATION OF A CIRCULAR ISSUED BY A STEAMSHIP
TICKET AGENT WHO IS NEITHER AN AUTHORIZED
BANKER NOR A NOTARY PUBLIC.**

You can converse with us in Lithuanian, Russian and Polish.

RUSSIAN AMERICAN AGENCY

(Near the Lithuanian Church).

Open daily from 8 A.M. to 9 P.M.

Tickets to Boston and Return, 60 cents.

Passengers coming to America I take from their homes and bring across the border without a foreign passport.

With the steamship tickets I send passengers written instructions in the Lithuanian, Russian or Polish languages, telling how to take care of themselves on the journey so they can come to America without trouble.

We collect money deposited in other Russian and American banks.

I provide those going to Russia with a consular passport so the border can be crossed.

Such consular passports we procure for everybody, regardless as to whether they are our passengers or not. From me anybody can get such a certificate. I thereby relieve them from the unnecessary trouble and inconvenience arising from applying for a passport in New York or Boston.

I exchange the Russian money you may need for your journey at the lowest rates.

If a number of passengers are sailing I accompany them to New York and remain with them until the steamer sails.

We sell steamship tickets to and from Europe on all lines at the cheapest rates. Our agents in New York and Boston take the passengers direct to the steamers and take care of them until the sailing of the boat.

We insure the baggage of the passenger going to Russia for 25 cents for each \$150.

We transmit money to all parts of the world at the rates given below. Exchange money of all countries.

Make all sorts of notarial documents, such as power of attorney, testaments, affidavits and all other legal papers.

All legal advice free.

Write to the newcomers not to exchange their foreign money on their journey nor in New York, because we pay them \$1 for two rubles.

APPENDIX O.

**LETTER FROM THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE NEW ENGLAND
STEAMSHIP COMPANY.**

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT, PIER 14, NORTH RIVER,
NEW YORK, December 22, 1913.

Commission on Immigration, Room 440, State House, Boston, Mass.

GENTLEMEN:—Replying to your communication from your executive secretary, Miss Grace Abbott, under date of December 18, 1913, we beg to submit the following:—

In accordance with our various conferences and letters with your commission, the immigrant quarters on the steamer "Providence" have been entirely rebuilt. The men's room, which was formerly in the center of the ship with crew's wash room on the outboard side, has been relocated on the starboard side of the vessel, outboard, and now has ventilation directly outboard and at the upper portion to a fore and aft passage-way. This question of ventilation also applies to the women's room on this steamer. The toilets in both men's and women's rooms have been entirely rebuilt, and, while they are now fitted with wooden seats, we have placed orders and will install as soon as practicable new toilets with solid porcelain tops. The crew's wash room and toilets have been removed from near the immigrant quarters to the forward section of the main deck, and do not communicate in any way with the quarters reserved for immigrants.

The berthing arrangement has been redesigned and rebuilt with iron piping frames, wire springs and new mattresses installed. The entire permanent quarters have been painted white. Spittoons and rubbish receptacles have been furnished for both men and women's quarters. Knock-down all-metal standee berths with wire springs and standard mattresses have been installed on the main deck adjacent to both men's and women's quarters. The space occupied by these berths is so arranged that it can be tightly enclosed with canvas curtains on heavy freight battens.

Men and women immigrants are entirely separate, and the quarters are so arranged that there is no necessity of any of the immigrants intermingling with the crew in any way.

The steamer "Plymouth" is now at the repair shops of this company, having practically the same alterations made so that the immigrant quarters on both these boats will be similar in character. The "Plymouth" should be completed in about two weeks. This will provide two steamers

on the Fall River Line with improved immigrant quarters. When the steamer "Plymouth" goes into service the steamer "Priscilla" will be withdrawn, and we propose immediately to take steps to change over the quarters on this steamer in a similar manner, so that this boat before she goes into commission again will have the immigrant quarters rebuilt.

The steamer "Chester W. Chapin" is now in the repair shops, having her immigrant quarters renovated, and we are building new toilets and wash rooms for men and women on the main deck opposite the entrance to immigrant quarters, assigning the men to the starboard side of the vessel and the women to the port. We propose installing on the main deck of this vessel knock-down all-metal berths with wire springs and mattresses, so that the space occupied by these quarters can be enclosed with canvas on heavy cargo stanchions.

This arrangement will provide for the separation of the men and women immigrants and the crew far better than that now existing on that steamer, and will avoid the necessity of any intermingling with the crew in so far as the wash rooms and toilets are concerned, and will greatly reduce the possibility of any such intermingling. When the "Chapin" is completed and goes into service we expect to make the same alterations on the steamer "City of Lowell;" and when this steamer is completed it will provide the improved immigrant service on the Norwich Line.

We have, in addition to the above, made changes in the crew assignments on our steamers. It was formerly the custom for the mate's department to have charge of the immigrants. This arrangement we thought unsatisfactory, and the care of the immigrants has been turned over entirely to the steward's department. An immigrant steward with assistants has been assigned to the care of the immigrant quarters, and they devote their entire time to this important subject. In addition to this we have added an immigrant stewardess to our crew. This woman has full charge of the women's quarters, and there is now no occasion for any male member of the crew or officer of the ship to have access to the women's immigrant quarters.

I sincerely trust and firmly believe that all the above will result in a very much improved service. This not only applies to the Fall River Line and Norwich Line but to the Providence Line when in operation.

We wish to take this opportunity to thank the Massachusetts Commission on Immigration, and to assure you that we would be pleased to receive at any time further practical suggestions looking towards the improvement of conditions on our steamers.

Yours truly,

J. HOWLAND GARDNER,
Vice-President.

APPENDIX P.

**LETTER FROM DISTRICT COMMERCIAL SUPERINTENDENT
OF THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY.**

EASTERN DIVISION, BOSTON, MASS., December 13, 1913.

Commission on Immigration, Boston, Mass.

GENTLEMEN: — Upon receipt of your complaint regarding overcharges made by the agent of this company at the various docks on the boat arrivals in Boston, this matter was gone into very thoroughly, and the agent, who has been employed there for some years, has been removed from that position, based on the information furnished by you in your report to this company.

If it is decided by the company that a criminal case will be made against him, I presume there will be no objection on the part of the commission in allowing us to use the information and informants for the purpose of prosecuting our case.

As to the overcharges you report made at the South Station, Boston, September 10, by a messenger employed by this company: I regret to state that your investigator was unable to identify this boy among those who were employed there on that date. Probably the reason for this is that out of the force of six messengers employed at the South Station on the date referred to, but three of them remain in our service.

In assigning employees to handle this class of work at the docks, special care will be taken to pick honest, reliable men, and, if at any time the commission finds that the people we have assigned there do not come up to these requirements, I will consider it a special favor if a prompt report is made me, that we may protect not only the immigrants but ourselves as well.

Since the conference on December 2 with your secretary, a local representative visited Ellis Island, securing information as to the practice in handling telegraph business at that point. I beg to submit to you the attached sheets of copies of forms which will be adopted for our local use from those in use at that point, unless you advise me at once that for some reason they are not satisfactory as far as the commission is concerned.

I wish to call your attention to the fact that these telegrams, as far as ordinary occasions allow, are kept within the smallest number of words possible, and it will be our practice in sending these messages outside of New England points to use the day and night letter service where it is possible to do so, with a view of making the charges to the immigrant as low as possible and yet secure the desired results.

Our Boston manager has arranged for a telegrapher at the various docks who will do nothing but the telegraphing, and a second employee, who will be in charge of the telegraphing at the docks, will accept telegrams, and, if necessary, assist the immigrants in writing same.

In all cases duplicate copies of messages, showing the address, the message, signature and the amount paid, will be returned to the sender, and, if possible, copies of telegrams filed by steamship employees for these immigrants will be receipted in the same way, and where possible these copies returned to the individual senders.

Upon receipt of your complaint, when an investigation was started here on our own account, it was found that considerable confusion arose, and an opportunity was given our employees to take advantage of the fact that the value of foreign money changed between arrivals. I understand that it will be no hardship on the immigrants if we ask them for United States money instead of accepting that of their own country. This will enable us to at any time check up the receipts with the telegrams, duplicate copies of which have been handed to the senders, and leave very little opportunity for our employees to use this as a possible excuse in overcharging.

It will be understood, however, that where it is not possible for the immigrant to obtain United States money we will, as a matter of assisting them, accept foreign money on the basis for which exchange is being given at that date, — but only as a matter of assisting them and not to be made a common practice.

I wish to assure you that everything possible will be done to protect the immigrants, our service and all concerned; and I will consider it a favor, if at any time the commission has any suggestions to make regarding improvements or protective measures which we may use to advantage, if the matter be submitted to me.

I assure you of my co-operation in every way possible.

Very respectfully,

C. F. AMES,
Commercial Superintendent.

APPENDIX Q.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF POLISH AND ITALIAN PARAGRAPHS WHICH INTERPRETERS WERE ASKED TO TRANSLATE.

FROM "IL PROGRESSO-ITALO-AMERICANO," DEC. 19, 1913.

Hoboken, N. J., 18. — Accusati di furto in danno di certo Siegfried Maas, collettore d'una Casa editrice, i giovani WILLIAM TANTONI e ROMEO RINALDI sono comparsi dinanzi al magistrato Tennant.

Il giorno 12 dello scorso maggio il Maas venne aggredito e derubato di \$9. Venivano arrestati quali presunti autori del furto, oltre il Rinaldi ed il Tantoni, certo William King. Questi confessava il delitto attribuito gli e veniva internato nel Rahway Reformatory.

Il Tantoni ed il Rinaldi essendo riusciti a provare la loro innocenza sono stati mandati liberi.

Translation.

Hoboken, N. J., 18. — Accused of robbing to the detriment of a certain Siegfried Maas, collector of a publishing firm, William Tantoni and Romeo Rinaldi appeared before Magistrate Tennant.

On the day of the 12th of last May, Maas was assaulted and robbed of \$9. Several supposed authors of the robbery were arrested, besides Rinaldi and Tantoni, also William King. He confessed the crime attributed to him and was sent to the Rahway Reformatory.

Tantoni and Rinaldi, having proved their innocence, were liberated.

"AMERICAN ECHO" (POLISH) TOLEDO, OHIO, DEC. 13, 1913.

Rochester, N. Y. — Aresztowano tu 16-letniego Franciszka Zgodzinskiego za kradziez wegla z jardów kolei New York Central. Przy rozprawie sadowej wykrylo sie, iz matka sama poslala chlopca po wegciel. Uwolniono go od kary, lecz sedzia zagrozil matce, iz ja skarze na wiezienie, jesli bedzie uczyla dziecko kradziezy.

Translation.

Rochester, N. Y. — Frank Zgodzinoki, sixteen years of age, was arrested for stealing coal from the New York Central Railroad yard. During the hearing of the case it was learned that the boy was sent by his mother to get coal. The boy was discharged, but the judge threatened to send his mother to jail if she taught the boy to steal.

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